

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 165

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • SEPTEMBER 20, 1947

NUMBER 12

The Shape of Things

SECRETARY MARSHALL MADE TWO IMPORTANT statements last week. The first was a sharp challenge to all who cling to a policy of drift in the face of Europe's mounting crisis. The Secretary of State said plainly that Europe's needs this winter would be so acute that emergency measures would have to be taken to prevent mass hunger and all its economic and political consequences. When asked whether such measures could be taken without Congressional sanction, he said no. When asked whether a special session would be called, he hedged, saying that the facts now being assembled and the reports of returning Congressional tours of inquiry would provide President Truman with the information necessary for a decision. But if Secretary Marshall's own statements were accurate, the need of a special session is already established unless the World Bank abandons its ordinary criteria and lends money in large amounts on the basis of need. In Europe, matters have gone far past the point where conventional credit methods have any meaning. As Mr. del Vayo says about France, a bread ration of 200 to 150 grams is itself a "revolutionary factor." Unfortunately, it is one whose meaning a Republican Congressman usually has immense difficulty in understanding. The job facing the Administration is to replace swiftly in the minds of the people—especially including the Congress—the idea of a leisurely debate, sometime after January 1, on plans for long-range support of European recovery with the realization that if emergency aid is not dispatched before the cold comes, long-range support will not even be worth debating. The legislative processes of a well-fed democracy, keyed to the exigencies of an imminent Presidential campaign, are likely to seem somewhat irrelevant to people hungering on 150 grams of bread. It is this that Secretary Marshall and the President must somehow convey to the public—right away, without evasion or any concessions to the political maneuvers of Senator Taft and his cohorts.

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THE SECOND STATEMENT BY MR. MARSHALL was obviously intended as the keynote for the General Assembly, opening two days later. The Secretary of State made several points which must be taken as encouraging since they reveal a firm determination to

work through the United Nations for the aims set forth in the Charter. He indicated that, while changes in the Charter were not ruled out, he believed progress could best be made in the immediate future "within the general framework which we now have"—an obvious reference to the veto. But the most interesting section of his talk dealt with the political issues of Greece and Palestine. In regard to the first, he made it clear that the United States would press for a solution and that the "solution must be the cessation of the threat" to Greece's borders. This is, of course, sharp notice to Russia that the United States will take the offensive on the Greek border problem. He gave no indication that the Balkan states might also have a legitimate complaint of frontier violations. On Palestine, Secretary Marshall was less forthright, contenting himself with the hope that the Assembly might arrive at a "definite solution of this complex matter." In contrast to his statement on Greece, he left out any reference to an existing American policy, an omission which will not pass unnoticed.

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CAUGHT BETWEEN THE TAFT-HARTLEY LAW and John L. Lewis's love for a good fight, the American Federation of Labor faces its liveliest convention since the Mineworkers' leader knocked down Big Bill Hutcheson in the session of twelve years ago. Under the new labor law, trade-union leaders are obliged to swear that they are not Communists if their unions are to have access to the services of the National Labor Relations Board and be recognized as bargaining agents. Denying members of a legal party equal treatment under the law, the clause would appear to be unconstitutional beyond a doubt, and the board's general counsel, Robert B. Denham, has reduced it to an absurdity by ruling that refusal by a single officer of a labor federation to sign the anti-Communist affidavit is enough to disqualify every member union. The entire hierarchy of the A. F. of L. was prepared reluctantly to yield on the issue, but Lewis's determination to withhold his signature makes their surrender meaningless. Without his agreement, all 43,000 locals of the federation will be denied standing before the board. To get around this obstacle,

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The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.
Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

the unions that want to work with the board will either have to deny Lewis a seat on the executive council or withdraw from the federation, both actions that would assure a maximum of fireworks at the convention. What might forestall the expected struggle is a reversal of the Denham ruling by the counsel himself or by the board, which can take such action in a case on appeal. Finding this one of the rare occasions in which we agree fully with John L. Lewis, we believe that the evil lies in the law rather than in the Denham interpretation. We hope, therefore, that the matter will not be settled by legalistic evasion or by the defeat of Mr. Lewis within the Federation. What is needed is a Supreme Court decision that will clear the air and restore the perspectives of Congressmen.

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SURE OF HIS PLACE IN THE FAMILY OF United Nations, Perón is proceeding systematically to stamp out the last traces of freedom in Argentina. The latest victim is the Argentine press. Big dailies like *La Prensa* and *La Nación*, whose journalistic independence has long been a source of pride among Argentines, are now faced with the alternative of surrendering to the government or going bankrupt. A few weeks ago, the owners of all printshops were summoned to police headquarters and warned that if they continued to print newspapers and magazines hostile to the regime, they would do so at "great risk." The owner of one large Buenos Aires press demanded a written order. The police chief refused; they must act "voluntarily," he said, "out of patriotic motives." Some papers—notably the Socialist *Vanguardia*, which has shown magnificent courage throughout this shameful period—carried front-page stories of what had happened and announced that this would probably be their last issue. In the case of the well-to-do publishers of *La Prensa*, Perón has devised a new form of financial pressure: the daily has been accused of violating customs regulations in its purchases of newsprint abroad since 1939 and is liable to retroactive duties that may run into millions of pesos.

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THE SURVIVAL OF FRANCO AND HIS FASCIST regime two years after the war's end is an arrogant challenge to the United Nations Assembly which convenes this week. The reasons that determined the U. N. last December to ask member nations to recall their ambassadors from Madrid are still valid; indeed, they are reinforced by new crimes and manifestations of insolence. The number of Spanish Republicans put to death by Franco since the beginning of this year is higher than in any year since 1939, when the war in Spain came to an end. A number of important Nazi agents whom the French police have been trying unsuccessfully to trace in France and the French occupation zone of Germany

are now revealed to be living safely in Madrid. Though the Spanish dictator, like his mentor Mussolini, has always proclaimed himself the defender of "order," more attacks, assassinations, and other acts of violence have been recorded since last December than in any corresponding period in the past five years. The plebiscite which Franco staged this summer to impress the United Nations proved a flat failure. American correspondents who covered the event were unanimous in describing it as a farce; and Assistant Secretary of State Norman Armour admitted that it had in no way altered the Spanish situation. Hunger is endemic in Spain, while the *straperlo*—black market—continues to flourish and Spanish industrialists negotiate desperately for financial support from American private firms. In the light of the record, it is the duty of the United Nations to implement last December's resolution with effective measures against Franco. Lord Templewood, Britain's Conservative ex-ambassador to Madrid, speaking in the House of Lords, recently demanded economic sanctions to end this international plague.

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"THE PEOPLE," AS THEY ARE LIGHTLY referred to by those who presume to know what it's all about, have a way of knowing what it's really all about that we find very heartening. Take the latest British by-election—in the Edge Hill district of Liverpool. We'd been told (1) that this was a real test of the Labor government's hold on popular support and (2) that the Labor Party had a hard fight on its hands. It sounded ominous. On August 26, the New York *Herald Tribune*—we cite it merely as an example—published a dispatch from its London correspondent who wrote with a kind of happy "ominosity" that "the Labor Party is confronted, in the midst of Great Britain's economic crisis, with what promises to be the toughest political fight it has faced since the general election. . . . The Conservatives, therefore, are going up to the campaign with even more than the usual political fervor. There is no doubt that if the Conservatives win, they will trumpet the victory loudly as proof that the Labor Party is on the way out." And furthermore: "It would be fair to say that if the Labor Party holds onto the seat in the face of the heavy odds of politics and the five-way split in voting, it will be a victory of great political importance. It would, in fact, be a much more important result than a Conservative victory." On September 9, the day before the election, Herbert L. Matthews of the *Times*—to take another example—writing from Liverpool, took the line, also, that this contest would provide the first real test of Labor's "toehold on the country." But in Mr. Matthews' dispatch on September 10, the election had become merely "something of a test case" and he observed blandly that "All signs tonight pointed *more than ever*" to a Labor victory! Well, Labor won "com-

fortably" the thirtieth by-election since the Labor Party took over. (It also won the other twenty-nine.) We are now waiting for the *Times* and the *Tribune* to trumpet the victory loudly as proof that the Labor Party is not on the way out.

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EVERYBODY WAS VERY PLEASANT AND proper about it and talked of "schedules" and "commitments for the winter programs," but the end result is that Max Lerner has been dropped as a news commentator by WOR. So still another has been added to the long line of silenced liberal voices. Abandoned by his sponsor, a tea company, some time ago, Mr. Lerner had been speaking on network sustaining time for the last ten weeks. Perhaps the station chose this delayed method of lay-off in order to ease the sponsor's problem in disposing of Mr. Lerner; or perhaps WOR meant well at the beginning of Mr. Lerner's non-sponsored appearances, but simply lacked the stamina to keep a controversial, left-of-center commentator on the air on its own time. In either case, there is little point in making an individual martyr of Mr. Lerner, as liberals have tended to do with each of their successively stifled radio spokesmen. What is important is the moral of these cases: In spite of the fiction that the air belongs to all of us, in practice it is controlled by and run for those who use it as an advertising medium. There will be little competitive play of ideas over the air until the listening audience, through federal power and through concerted consumer demand, reclaims the air from those whose only interest in it is commercial.

In Freedom's Wake

THE communal riots in India continue to engage the attention of the governments of India and Pakistan. The loss of life and property has been serious. For over a month now, the American press has been highlighting the riots almost to the exclusion of any other news from India, with the inevitable result that a widespread impression has been created that the entire subcontinent is aflame. That, however, is not the case.

East, South, and Central India have been virtually free from communal warfare. Behar, Bombay, the United Provinces, and Assam, which witnessed some bloody riots before power was transferred to the Indians, have also seen no fighting. Calcutta, once the scene of ghastly massacres, has been brought under control by the new government of India. Gandhi's presence in that city has been a great factor in restoring intercommunal harmony. He has again demonstrated his phenomenal hold on the hearts of his people—of both religious groups.

The present disturbances are confined largely to the Punjab, the Northwest province, Baluchistan, and, more

recently, Delhi. A vivid, first-hand account of a fragment of the conflict is provided in an article by Andrew Roth on page 280. The important thing to remember is that the riots do not represent a clash between the two dominions as such. On the contrary, the two governments are wholeheartedly cooperating in their attempts to restore peace. They have agreed on the strongest measures against the armed bands. They have made joint arrangements to evacuate the refugees through all possible means of transportation. The Prime Ministers of both dominions have been touring the stricken areas, exhorting their followers to abandon murderous assaults.

The rioting in the Punjab presents a complex and serious problem. Partisan assertions that the Sikhs alone are responsible are unfounded. It is true that the splitting of the Sikh community into two has aroused that martial people. Like the early Christians, the Sikhs were fiercely persecuted by the Moslem rulers at one time. The memories of those days are still vivid, and the Sikhs have been obsessed with a fear that they might suffer similar persecution under the new Moslem Dominion of Pakistan.

To get a proper perspective on the whole Indian situation, we must also bear in mind that India's four hundred millions are going through political, economic, and social revolutions simultaneously. The period of transition between the end of an imperial regime and the emergence of a people's government is bound to be difficult. Many encouraging things are happening in India whose significance has temporarily been eclipsed by the riots. The Constituent Assembly has laid down the fundamental principles of the new constitution, based upon agreements among all sections of the House—Hindus, Moslems, Christians, Parsees, and Sikhs. The Report on Minorities, which has been hailed by everyone, declares that a Statutory Commission will guarantee full protection to the minorities and will enforce safeguards. All the Indian states with the exception of Hyderabad have joined India or Pakistan, thus recognizing the control of the dominion governments over foreign affairs, defense, and communications. In many provinces and states, untouchability has been banned. Provisions are being made for free and compulsory education. Landlordism is being vigorously assailed. These and many other measures hold promise of steady progress. What we are witnessing in India is in a large measure the aftermath of alien domination.

Beginning next week, King Gordon will become a Staff Contributor, acting as The Nation's correspondent at Flushing Meadow. He will report and comment regularly on the proceedings of the United Nations General Assembly. Mr. Gordon will also do special broadcasting for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

How to Check Prices

EVERY day that passes brings a flood of figures and charts to show what no housewife needs to have demonstrated: that since the end of May we have had sixteen weeks of unchecked inflation, that food prices have soared to the point of imposing serious hardship on lower- and middle-income families, and that unless there is swift and decisive action we are moving toward something very like disaster. Calling for a special session of Congress, Representative O'Toole of New York warns of a winter that "will be one of the most severe economically our people have ever faced." And this in a year when the fate of Europe depends on our aid.

Four lines of attack on runaway prices have been advanced: drastic curtailment of exports, consumer resistance, prosecutions for price-fixing, and a restoration of government price controls—and all four have their weaknesses.

A curb on food exports, increasingly urged by isolationist opponents of the Marshall plan, is surely the most fatuous and dangerous of all. While it might have a temporary effect on the domestic price index, it would forfeit American leadership in the world and throw Europe to the wolves, with long-range consequences to our economy that can hardly be imagined. Those who attribute high prices to our food shipments abroad should be reminded that present relief exports and the most generous aid likely to be granted under the Marshall plan taken together would hardly be more than a tiny fraction of what we sent overseas during the war—in food, guns, tanks, trucks, and a hundred other commodities; yet we had no inflation then, thanks to controls.

Consumer resistance—refusal to buy at exorbitant prices and the purchase of substitutes—is of course highly desirable, but even if it were far more generally practiced than it is, it would still be of limited value. As one official of the New York League of Women Shoppers explains, "We've been recommending that housewives use eggs, poultry, fish, and cheese as meat substitutes. Now we look at the price of eggs and poultry and other substitutes, and we can't recommend any more, because we feel like hypocrites."

Prosecution of price-riggers, which appears to be the current approach of the Administration, is good as far as it goes. But it is so slow a process, involves so small a part of the entire problem, and is so unlikely to be fruitful that it need not be seriously considered as anything more than a contributory solution.

Thus the experts are brought reluctantly but inevitably to a reconsideration of price control by government. Sentiment in its favor is building up both in the President's Council of Economic Advisers and in the Cabinet. Chester C. Davis, a key member of the Harri-

man Foreign Aid Committee, appointed to study the country's resources for implementing the Marshall plan, told a press conference last week that "it may be necessary to attempt to reinstate government controls of food" in order to carry out the aid program. And while the bulk of the press is still chary about replacing price ceilings, editorial sentiment is unquestionably moving in that direction. Even the Republican New York *Herald Tribune* concedes that under the emergency circumstances "there is precedent for abandoning the free market."

Against this course the arguments most commonly advanced are these: (1) for a Republican Congress to restore controls would be a politically fatal admission of responsibility for the current inflation; (2) price controls without rationing would create a vast black market which would either defeat the purpose of the move or make necessary a tremendous corps of agents and inspectors; (3) the restoration of rationing would be political dynamite in an election year and would stir fierce opposition to the entire foreign-aid program; (4) all such moves would be meaningless without allocation of materials such as we had during the war.

Granting the difficulties, both political and technical, we believe that government action is not only feasible but mandatory. It is probable, as some former OPA officials believe, that the entire economy would bog down at this point if the government attempted to reimpose controls at the wholesale and retail levels. But that is not where the problem lies. What is desperately needed is price control—at the source of production—in industrial and building materials, especially steel, and in basic farm commodities like grains and livestock.

Given price ceilings and a system of allocations on these goods, along with reenacted import-export controls, the price level on other commodities could safely be left to the rules of the market place, without the necessity of an army of agents or the difficulties of rationing. It would still be *possible*, of course, for a retailer to charge too much for a loaf of bread, but he would not *have* to do so in order to get back his own money, plus a normal profit. Consumer resistance could then take care of the retail profiteer.

As for political considerations, the Republicans in Congress have a choice between this limited surrender and the burden of responsibility for a fast-approaching débâcle—provided of course, the Administration takes the lead and makes the choice clear, both to the gentlemen on Capitol Hill and to the country at large.

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[NOTE—The caricature in last week's issue by Oscar Berger labeled "Sir Stafford Cripps" was actually, of course, a drawing of Philip Noel-Baker. Our apologies to the two statesmen, the artist, and our readers.]

Politics and People

BY ROBERT BENDINER

AFTER the remarks attributed to Herbert Hoover in this month's *American Magazine* it is clear that the country has yet to solve the problem of what to do with its discarded Presidents. Certainly the use to which the Republicans have put Mr. Hoover hardly seems compatible with the dignity of his station as Elder Politician. Granted that someone with a name had to be found to test the risks involved in making the war a campaign issue, it was nevertheless rather shoddy to assign the sapper's task to the Grand Old Man of the party.

It is possible, of course, that Hoover's repudiation of America's role in the war was purely an inspiration of his own, offered as a public service and without a thought of its effect on his party's fortunes in a pre-election year. Yet for the McCormick-Taft sector of the G. O. P. it has clearly been a daring and valuable contribution. No politically active Republican could have afforded to take the lead, as Hoover has done, in reviving the kind of isolationism that once flourished in America First circles. Not even Taft, who publicly deplored the Nürnberg trials, dared to offer what Hoover has now made a respectable opinion: that it was unnecessary for us to get into the war, that it was a mistake to believe "Britain was in danger of defeat," and that "we would never have been attacked by the Japanese if we had not given them provocation." But now that the plunge has been made, it will be possible for the Tafts and McCormicks to judge the public reaction with a view to introducing a bit of Roosevelt war guilt as a campaign issue in 1948.

It is noteworthy in an ominous way that while a bevy of Democrats have denounced the new Hoover doctrine, no word of condemnation has yet been heard from a Republican source. Indeed, one Republican Senator has been emboldened to go the Elder Politician one better. Senator Hawkes of New Jersey not only agrees with Hoover but adds that both "Japan and Germany would have been defeated without our active participation."

Unless the Hoover doctrine is promptly squelched, we may expect more of this sort of thing between now and the elections—as much more as the traffic will bear. For the benefit of those inclined to do the squelching let me uncharitably recall a few other remarks by the Elder Politician which he would perhaps prefer to forget. "American soil," Hoover solemnly announced on December 7, 1941, "has been treacherously attacked by Japan." (Why "treacherously" if we provoked the attack?) "Our decision is clear," he continued. "It is forced upon us. We must fight with everything we have." And in case anyone thinks it was Roosevelt who did the forcing, I hasten to draw once more on Mr. Hoover,

speaking this time on December 8 of the same year: "The President took the only line of action open to any patriotic American."

IN SAD cases like the defeat of Phil Storch in Pennsylvania's Eighth Congressional District last week, it is not uncommon for the alibis to be in before the final returns. They are rarely comforting and even more rarely convincing, but in this instance they do point up some facts that should dampen any Republican jubilation.

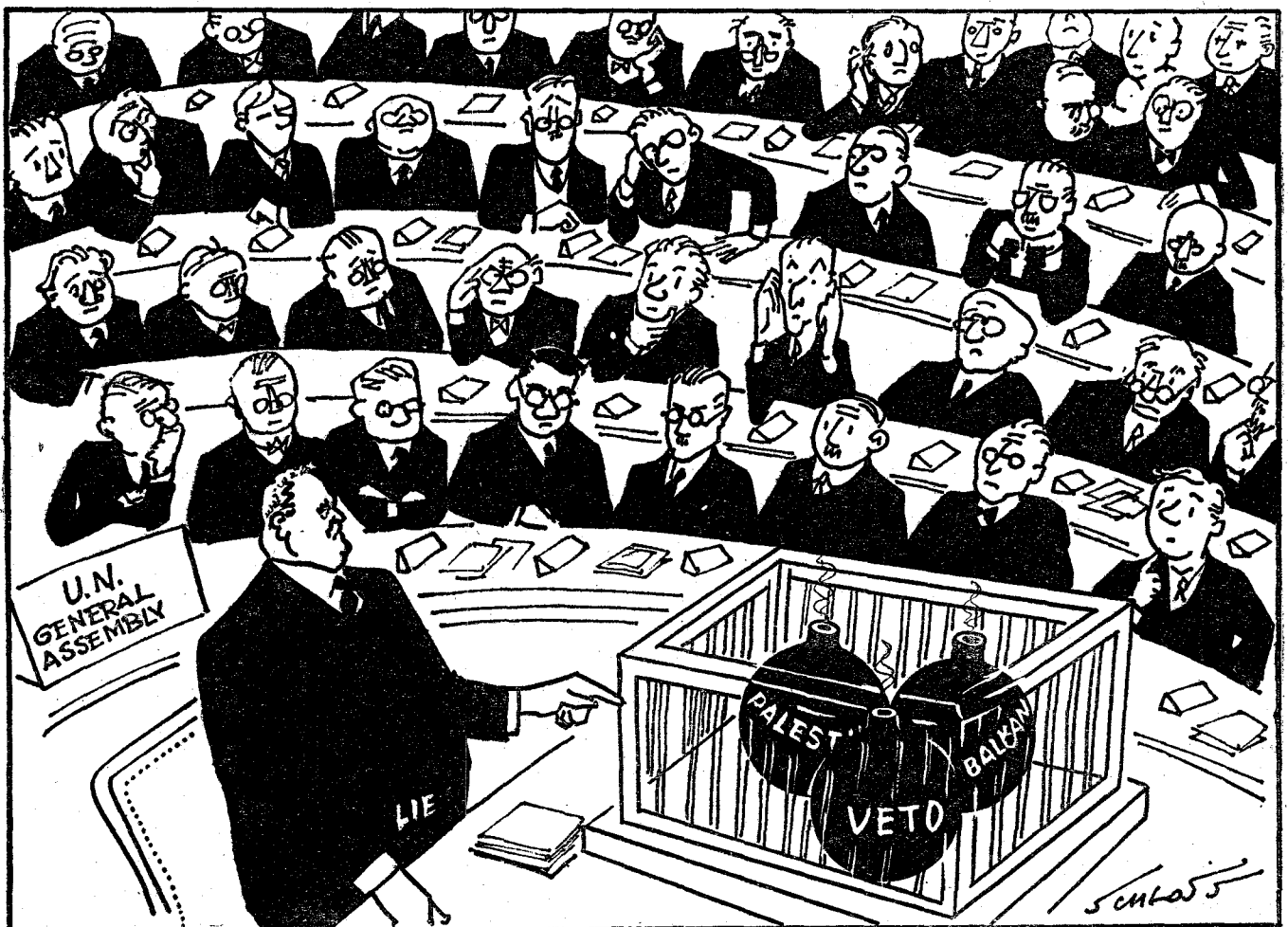
To begin with, there was never a chance that Storch, the Democratic candidate and a C. I. O. Newspaper Guildsman, would actually defeat Franklin H. Lichtenwalter, the Speaker of Pennsylvania's Republican House of Representatives, in a district that goes Democratic only when the banks crash. The mystery is why labor should have chosen to puff up a campaign in which the registration figures doomed its man from the start by a count of 70,000 Republicans against 46,000 Democrats. The reasoning seemed to be that if Storch even ran his opponent a close race, a moral victory would have been scored and the Taft-Hartley Act would have been publicly repudiated. But moral victories are dubious political assets, and in any event Storch fell far short.

At this point the forces working against Storch should be considered. The mere fact that labor, at least locally,

seemed bent on making the campaign a test of sentiment on the Taft-Hartley Act brought out the Grundy machine in all its power. The money said to have been spent on Lichtenwalter was certainly not matched for Storch either by labor or by the Democrats. Local trade unions of all hues put on a remarkable demonstration of co-operative zeal; but national labor leaders chipped in nothing more substantial than words of encouragement, feeling no doubt that it would be strategically unwise to invest funds in a lost cause.

As for the local Democratic machine, observers report a persistence of that old custom of the Philadelphia area whereby the Congressional seat and its favors go regularly to the Republicans without much opposition, in return for which Democrats get a good share of local offices and the patronage that goes with them.

In the light of these circumstances and the real gains made by the Democrats in the industrial areas of Bethlehem and Allentown, the Taft-Hartley law can hardly be said to have had much of a test. Its proponents who are inclined to crow prematurely are referred to Mr. Lichtenwalter's many avowals during the campaign that the law was not an issue at all, since it had been passed by a bi-partisan majority. They might also consult the most recent Roper poll, which shows Taft's stock dropping like a barometer in dirty weather.



"HANDLE WITH CARE"

Atomic Bombs or Atomic Plenty?

BY LEONARD ENGEL

EARLY this summer President Truman vetoed a bill for a National Science Foundation on the ground that its somewhat unusual administrative setup was unsound and possibly unconstitutional. Although his objections have some point, the veto was a blunder. For Congress will not pass a bill more to his liking and may indeed for several years pass no legislation of this sort at all.

Every day without a National Science Foundation is a national calamity. In the first place, the United States is currently suffering from a grave deficiency of scientific man-power as the result of a singularly shortsighted war-time conscription policy. Student scientists were drafted just like students of beauty culture, as though the one were no more important to the nation's future than the other. Nearly ten thousand Ph.D.'s and scores of thousands of engineers were lost. The shortage can only be made up, because of the length of time it takes to turn a young man or woman into a scientist, by an extensive federal-scholarship program, such as was authorized in the vetoed bill.

In the second place, lack of a civilian National Science Foundation is giving control of basic or "pure" scientific research, the most important type of scientific work, to the army and navy. During the war science crossed a great divide. The ultracentrifuge, the electron microscope, the atom smasher, and the atomic pile became universally necessary scientific tools, and basic research grew into an activity requiring expenditures beyond the capacity of universities and other private institutions. In the absence of other "angels," the army and navy have become key factors in the financing of research. This year, for example, military appropriations are furnishing half the \$400,000,000 which is being spent on basic research. The supplier of funds, of course, becomes the boss. The army and navy are even active in medicine and atomic energy, fields in which there are well-endowed civilian governmental agencies.

To put it bluntly, there is no greater evil conceivable than military control of scientific research. It means a gradual cessation of progress in pure science, for the "army mind" and the spirit of free scientific inquiry do not go together, and competent scientists will not work for long under military direction. And it means the

perversion of such scientific knowledge as is gained, for armies and navies are ultimately concerned not with the preservation and enrichment of human life but with its destruction. Whatever the good-will of individual officers, military control in the laboratory leads inescapably to atom bombs and man-made plagues instead of atomic plenty and conquest of disease. The logical end result of militarized science is the Nazi *Vernichtungslager*, the annihilation camp with its gas chambers, mechanized ovens, and other gear for mass murder.

I would like to expand on this. To begin with, I do not mean to imply that the United States army and navy are officered by monsters who are contemptuous of science and who would salvage only that part of it which is useful for blood-letting. Most officers are decent and well-meaning men. Some, especially in the branches that have to do with research and development, are as broad-minded and understanding as any individuals in the nation. However, military control would stultify and pervert science even if every officer were a paragon of humane intellectual virtues, for the stultification and perversion flow from the system, and the system is stronger than any number of excellent individual officers.

LET us see how the system works. The army and navy entered the basic-research picture immediately after V-J Day. During the war little basic research was carried on; all efforts were concentrated on applying previously accumulated scientific knowledge to the tasks at hand—namely, fashioning weapons and winning the war. Thus knowledge gained in two generations of research into the atom was bent to the making of atom bombs. American scientists did a superlative job of applying science to military technology; in fact, they did such a good job that they quite literally used up the world's bank of basic scientific knowledge in several important fields. Further progress in those fields imperatively demanded new knowledge of natural facts. To give a simple example, we produced during the war as good metal alloys as can be made in the present state of metallurgy, which, in spite of its antiquity, is still more a hit-or-miss art than a science; to make really improved metals, man must finally learn something of their internal structure, a problem in basic research. Realizing this, and realizing that current research costs are beyond private means, the army and navy stepped in and awarded research contracts to scores of private institutions.

It should be emphasized that the contracts were

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awarded on an extremely generous basis and purely as a temporary stop-gap. Thoughtful army and navy people themselves realized that military financing and control of research were undesirable and agreed to them only as interim measures, until the establishment of a civilian Science Foundation.

Armies and navies are authoritarian, hierarchical organizations in which subordinate individuals possess neither status nor initiative. Into such a framework the scientist, particularly the worker in pure science, cannot be fitted. The pure scientist is an individual who is challenging nature to yield up its secrets. His hallmark is a bold, if patient, mind. Under the stimulus of war or high pay he may consent to work under military direction for a time. But the arrangement is usually temporary, since there is little place in the depths of the chain of command for the individual who *must* exercise initiative.

This is not to suggest that scientists cannot work under any direction at all, or that basic research is an activity of solitary laboratory heroes. Quite the contrary; basic research very often demands a high degree of organization and direction. But the organization must be freely cooperative, and the direction must come from men selected for their scholarly achievements and not by the roulette wheel of the army assignment system.

A specific example will make this clear. Two acquaintances of mine at the Rockefeller Institute are investigating the electrical properties of living cells. Living cells, as one of these men expressed it, are "lousy batteries" which cease operating at the moment of death. From studies like this will come one day a new understanding of life and death and perhaps a revolution in medicine. As a preliminary to the cell studies, it is necessary to measure the electrical properties of a long list of substances. Some of these have been measured before, but the work was done by so many different individuals in so many different ways that no one knows whose figures are to be trusted. So new measurements are patiently and systematically being made by a group of Yale and Rockefeller Institute scientists of which my acquaintances are members. Now, which way is that job handled better, by a cooperative group under the guidance of a man who has done distinguished work in the field all his life or by a group under an alumnus of West Point? The question answers itself.

Up to the present the army and navy have wisely refrained from attempting to exercise even indirect control. Money has been given almost without strings to universities and recognized research institutes for work in a wide variety of fields. But this cannot continue indefinitely. Army and navy funds are limited, and sooner or later their research branches will be called upon to justify their expenditures in terms of military results—that is, new weapons developed and old weapons improved.

This will lead to close supervision of scientific contractors and gradual elimination of pure-research projects. For it is in the nature of pure research that it cannot be justified in terms of immediately useful results. It is exploration of the unknown, and one cannot know in advance whether a gold mine or a totally useless swamp lies at the end of the trail. Only applied science yields predictable results. So army- and navy-sponsored research will be confined more and more to weapons development and will involve an ever narrower group of scientists, since scientists not only resent military supervision but are humanitarians profoundly uninterested in weapons. And if no alternative to military sponsorship and domination of science is found, there will in time be no pure science in the United States, no epochal discoveries from which applied scientists can build a new world. There will be only weapons.

THERE is another destructive factor in military control of science. Armies make a virtue of suspicion. Other nations are potential enemies. Hence new scientific developments are viewed by the military as counters in a possible war and are naturally to be kept secret wherever possible. The scientist, on the other hand, is anxious to make each new advance public. He intends his contribution for the benefit of humanity and wishes to make it available to all. He understands something, moreover, which few military men ever comprehend—that all advances *must* be published in order to make further advances possible. For the enormously intricate, yet minutely organized body of techniques and knowledge called science—man's greatest achievement—is the work of numberless men, each of whom builds upon the work of others and most of whom labor in complete obscurity but nevertheless contribute something essential. Go back through the history of science; see how small a step each man takes, how all depend on the work of those who have gone before, how even the great synthesizers like Darwin and Einstein must have access to the work of others in order to erect their theories. Secrecy, in short, breaks the threads of science's continuity, and if military secrecy is imposed on American science, American science will perish.

That brings me to the final point. It is sometimes said that militarization of science with its concentration on weapons development is an evil which is at least partly compensated by by-products of value to the world as a whole. Thus atomic power is pointed to as an immensely valuable by-product of the atom bomb. It is not true that atomic energy is a gift of the bomb—they are distinctly different applications of basic atomic research—nor is it generally true that weapons development confers important incidental benefits on humanity. Very nearly a third of the research which the army, navy, and air forces are currently sponsoring or carrying out, for

example, is concerned with supersonic flight. The laws of supersonic flight are of great importance in military aircraft, artillery projectiles, rockets, and guided missiles but have only a remote connection with a peaceful world. Many other military research projects have as slight a non-military value. Of those that do have more immediate constructive aspects, few will ever yield benefits that could not be obtained in other ways at a tenth the cost.

One must make no mistake. Weapons improvement, with which military-sponsored research is becoming increasingly occupied, is applied science or development work. Development work, unlike pure science, has few

surprises and you get what is paid for. When an army pays the bills, you get weapons, not power plants or wonder drugs.

At the moment the army and navy still do not have firm control of basic scientific research. American science is a husky civilian growth, with a strong tradition. But bit by bit control is slipping from its traditional academic guardians. While it will not solve all problems—the problem of freedom of scientists from FBI witch hunts will remain—a civilian National Science Foundation will at least put the direction of scientific research back where it belongs, firmly in the hands of civilian scientists.

Wedemeyer's Report on China

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

THE return of Lieutenant General Wedemeyer with his "fact-finding" report on conditions in China and Korea marks the zero hour for the determination of America's post-war Far Eastern policy. Many observers have interpreted the General's bitter denunciation of the slackness, incompetence, and corruption in the Kuomintang as indicating that there will be no essential change in our China policy. Certainly the statement came as a bitter blow to the groups, both in this country and in China, who had assumed that the appointment of Wedemeyer, known to be strongly anti-Communist and personally friendly to Chiang Kai-shek, automatically assured increased assistance to the Kuomintang regime.

It is quite possible that the Wedemeyer report should be considered merely the logical extension of the previous Truman and Marshall statements. If this is the case, it is difficult to see how the State Department could justify a request that Congress pour more funds into China. In view of Europe's needs under the Marshall plan Congress is unlikely to look with favor on a new loan in Asia to be administered by officials "whose conduct is notoriously marked by greed, incompetence, or both." In fact, some Congressmen, sadly disillusioned by China's past performances, are merely awaiting an opportunity to demand an accounting of the \$500,000,000 loan made in 1942. It now appears that this loan was granted despite strenuous objections from Ambassador Gauss and the State Department.

Unfortunately, Wedemeyer's caustic statement might also be interpreted as forecasting a drastic change in our China policy—a change that would satisfy those who urge that this policy be made wholly consistent with the Truman Doctrine. Close scrutiny reveals significant

differences between Wedemeyer's statement and those which preceded it. Although Wedemeyer denounced graft and corruption in language that was in many respects stronger than Marshall's, he did not even pretend to be neutral with respect to China's domestic politics. On the contrary, he placed sole responsibility for the continuation of the civil war upon the Communists, declaring that if they were "truly patriotic and interested primarily in the well-being of their country they would halt the voluntary employment of force in an effort to impose ideologies." To the Kuomintang he said merely that "military force *in itself* would not eliminate communism" (*italics mine*).

Nor did General Wedemeyer's report urge, as previous statements had done, the formation of a unified democratic regime containing representatives of all the main political groups in China. True, he called for immediate "drastic, far-reaching political and economic reforms," but the context makes it clear that he was primarily interested in eliminating inefficiency and corruption. He made no mention of the need for greater democracy, enforcement of promised civil rights, and an end to political terrorism; no reference to the previously avowed goal of American policy—the setting up of a broadly representative coalition regime. If the needed "economic reforms" include a new land policy and a general reduction of taxes—the chief demands of the opposition parties—that was not in any way suggested by the General.

Perhaps the most significant thing about his statement is the absence of the usual allusions to China's rights as a sovereign nation, the failure to disavow any intentions on the part of America to interfere in China's domestic affairs. Instead, Wedemeyer declared bluntly

that "promises will no longer suffice. Performance is necessary." Of course, the United States has been intervening in Chinese affairs since the early days of the war. But mindful of the all-important consideration of Chinese "face," Wedemeyer's predecessors were careful to pay lip-service to the principle of non-intervention. In failing to observe the amenities the President's latest special envoy played into the hands of the very groups he so roundly denounced. For the Chinese of all political leanings are highly sensitive about foreign interference, and Chen Li-fu, head of the notorious C. C. clique, and other right-wing leaders were quick to capitalize on this feeling to strengthen their political position. According to recent reports, the C. C. clique is hopeful of forcing the resignation of Foreign Minister Wang Shih-chieh, a moderate, on the ground that he is too subservient to the United States. It is also reported that the arch-reactionary General Ho Ying-chin may soon be back in his old place as Minister of National Defense, replacing the far abler but politically moderate General Pai Chung-hsi.

THE skill with which reactionary groups within the Kuomintang have frustrated every effort on the part of the United States to modernize or reform the Chinese government points up the essential weakness of American policy from Hurley to Wedemeyer. Stilwell, it will be recalled, was determined to maintain neutrality in China's domestic affairs and refused to extend military aid on any other basis. But since Stilwell's departure the reactionary wing of the Kuomintang has operated on the conviction that in a showdown the United States could be counted on to support the Nationalists rather than see China overrun by the Communists. Right-wing groups have been generous with promises of reform, but by failing to come to grips with the problems of inflation, high taxation, and corruption, they have stimulated disaffection and thus accentuated the crisis which the United States is expected to alleviate with the taxpayers' dollars.

Read carefully, the Wedemeyer statement is not inconsistent with the frequently expressed proposal that all future American aid be strictly supervised or made conditional upon concessions that would reduce China, for all practical purposes, to the status of an American colony. It is quite possible, as the *World Report* of August 28 suggests, that Wedemeyer may urge aid on a project-by-project basis under close American supervision. Already the military and naval assistance given to the Chiang Kai-shek regime is supervised by a military and a naval mission, and there is talk of greatly enlarging the military mission. Although these missions are supposedly neutral in the civil war, their value to Chiang in the struggle against the Communists was illustrated in the recent amphibious operations in Shantung,

where American-trained naval forces using American landing craft made a successful attack on one of the few ports in Communist hands.

The vague reports which have appeared in several American newspapers regarding possible American bases in Formosa and northwestern China undoubtedly reflect the desire of many American military leaders for advanced bases in Asia. Some American capital is said to be available for expanding the industries of Formosa under American supervision. General Wedemeyer took occasion, on August 20, to deny

officially that he had been negotiating for additional American bases in China, but a Chinese source in New York has quoted T. F. Tsiang, Kuomintang delegate to the United Nations, as saying that demands of the United States for strategic facilities in China have been excessive.

If these demands have encountered resistance from China, it is presumably because the right wing of the Kuomintang is convinced that American aid will ultimately be granted without concessions in order to check Communist expansion. A further illustration of the way in which the Kuomintang is constantly seeking to play Russia against the United States to strengthen its own position is found in the recent speech by Premier Chang Chun before the fourth plenary session of the Kuomintang's central executive committee. Warning against American efforts to revive Japan's economy, Premier Chang declared that China's position with respect to Japan was closer to that of the Soviet Union than to that of the United States. Promise of substantial American aid for China would presumably induce Mr. Chang to change his mind on this issue.

Recent reports from China indicate that a number of well-known independents, together with members of several of the minor parties and perhaps a few moderates within the Kuomintang, are prepared to cooperate with the Communists in setting up a coalition regime in the event of a Kuomintang collapse. If the United States would persist in its previous policy of urging a coalition, China might become one of the few countries in a position to bridge the chasm between the East and the West. Such a role for China is conceivable because the basic interests of Russia and the United States come closer to coinciding there than in any other important area. If the United States, however, steps up its aid to the Kuomintang, the split between Russia and the United



Drawing by Seligson
General Wedemeyer

States will be extended in an area where both countries have tremendous stakes.

Wedemeyer's report may decide whether the United States will persist in its efforts for a democratic settlement of China's problems or will be maneuvered into a position of maintaining in power the elements we have consistently denounced as undemocratic, inefficient, and corrupt. If support is given to the Kuomintang, it will undoubtedly be defended as necessary to halt the spread of communism. Yet the experience of the past two years in China has shown conclusively that communism is strengthened, not weakened, by the perpetuation of a dictatorial, corrupt regime that has little or no sup-

port from the people. The United States, hailed as a liberator on V-J Day, has already lost much of its popularity among the Chinese people by its aid to a decadent regime that would otherwise have gone under. As Walter Lippmann has pointed out in his cogent analysis of the Truman Doctrine, a weak ally is not an asset but a liability. America's strategic position is not strengthened by the friendship of a government that requires constant propping up to prevent it from being overthrown by its own people. Nor is America's interest advanced in any way by feeding the flames of a civil war that has set China back for at least a decade and threatens, unless checked, to start a world conflagration.

Students Map the Future

BY CURTIS FARRAR

Madison, Wisconsin, September 8

SEVEN hundred delegates from colleges attended by a million American students very nearly split down the middle on two grave issues, one domestic and one international, during the constitutional convention of the National Student Association held here last week. If they had split, it would have been proof positive that prejudice, sectionalism, and nationalism have hamstrung America's most hopeful generation. Instead, under pressure of time, they hammered out two intelligent compromises. They were able to do this because of their tremendous enthusiasm and their real desire to find a program with which they could all work together for the progress of America and the peace of the world.

The domestic issue was the race issue. A great effort had been made to get a pre-convention agreement on the stand the organization should take on the question of racial discrimination in education. A compromise had been reached on the same issue at the preparatory conference held at the University of Chicago in December, but the dispute had left a bad taste in the mouths of some of the Northern delegates. As the Madison convention opened, various groups of Northerners urged a stronger stand against segregation. A few of the farthest left students approached Southern Negro delegates one by one and asked them to hold out against any compromise whatsoever. Immediately Southern white delegates rallied in violent reaction to the Northern "pressure." They insisted that it would be impossible for them to carry back to their campuses any resolution save

one condemning "inequality of education." A few conservative Southerners seized the leadership of the entire group, and it looked as if the war was on.

The most critical hour came at four o'clock in the morning on the day the issue was to come up on the floor. As a last hope the steering committee sent two Negroes and two white Southerners off into a corner to try to work out a resolution that would be acceptable to all. No one believed it could be done. But it was done. A statement was produced which all four thought might provide a basis for an effective program to eliminate the injustices of the dual educational system in this country. It took cognizance of regional variations in statute and custom and yet advocated a program "to secure and maintain equal rights for all people . . . regardless of race . . . especially by securing the eventual elimination of all forms of discriminatory educational systems anywhere in the United States."

The compromise statement was passed from hand to hand among the members of the steering committee and overwhelmingly approved. A few hours later the plenary session convened in an atmosphere of great tension. There were hours of long, throbbing speeches, hours of taut discussion of the compromise. Then Jim Smith of Texas, president of the preparatory committee for the convention, got to his feet, so tired he could hardly stand, and in a slow drawl read the resolution as finally amended. It was carried unanimously, the tension snapped, and the delegates went out together happily to celebrate on Wisconsin beer.

CURTIS FARRAR is taking a year's leave of absence from Yale to work for the United World Federalists.

THE international issue was the definition of the relationship between the newly formed N. S. A. and the year-old International Union of Students, whose headquarters is in Prague. The I. U. S. is unquestionably

oriented far to the left of the student body of the United States, as all observers who were at its council meeting this summer agreed. Many delegates here shuddered at the thought of having to explain the I. U. S. to isolationist student bodies and suspicious deans. At the same time they realized that their one chance for real knowledge of the students of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union would come through the union. In addition, they were told, the I. U. S. has a service program, and its relief work and provisions for low-cost travel throughout Europe will soon be in operation.

All through the week a compromise was carefully worked out, under the direction of Robert Smith of Yale, in the panel on international activities. It was designed to protect the N. S. A. from the political tentacles of the I. U. S. while allowing the American organization to cooperate fully in the constructive projects of the international group. It provided for a negotiating committee to go to Prague next summer to attempt to secure the I. U. S. council's approval of N. S. A. terms. It proposed to try to get as many students as possible from I. U. S. countries to come to the United States next summer, in exchange for working and traveling students from America.

By the time the resolution got to the floor, it was a carefully constructed and balanced piece of work. It was not naive, and it embodied the students' basic distrust of politics and partisan activities. And yet it showed

an interest, a curiosity, and a desire for cooperation. The American student, this resolution clearly indicated, must learn to live with people he disagrees with.

It was passed, in the warm morning sun—somebody had forgotten to make arrangements for procuring the theater—by a vote of 436 to 35.

A GOOD many other things were threshed out here last week, none of them unimportant. But none of them came so close to wrecking the association, before it had truly set on its course, as the issues of discrimination and the I. U. S. The delegates discussed their right to take part in political activity, the place of student government in education, and the troubles of housing and costs which plague students all over the nation. Above all, they emphasized the fact that they consider their education just not good enough to prepare them to act as intelligent members of a world community.

Now Bill Welsh of Berea College, the new president, and Bob Smith, the vice-president in charge of international activities, have a good directive to work from. They have a sound yet flexible constitution and a broad and detailed program. Though they have very little money, they have a lot of eager man-power. If most of the colleges and universities which were represented here decide to join the new organization, N. S. A. will represent over half of the two million college students of the United States.

On the Sikh-Moslem Frontier

BY ANDREW ROTH

Murree, Pakistan, September 3
MURDER, arson, and rape are insuring that the line running through the Punjab dividing Western Pakistan from the Indian Dominion will not be a mere boundary line but an angry scar which for years will hinder the well-being of the two regions. Lahore and Amritsar, the two chief cities on either side of the border, have the crumbling, burnt-over look of blitzed London or Rotterdam. From the air one can still see bands of one community attacking the isolated villages of the other. The latest authoritative estimates give more than 50,000 dead in the last six months, most of them Moslems of eastern Punjab.

During the past week I have seen the main roads leading from eastern Punjab to Pakistan crowded with tens

of thousands of poor villagers fleeing for their lives. The more fortunate families are perched precariously atop groaning, wooden-wheeled bullock carts. Others straggle afoot. Young mothers slog wearily along suckling sickly-looking newborn babies. Old men carry their grandchildren on their shoulders and tell of the father's death and the mother's abduction by raiding bands.

The boundary commission's report, leaving minorities of some four million on each side of the border, has caused one of the greatest exchanges of population in modern history. The exodus from the Pakistan areas now amounts to about half a million people, three hundred thousand having left Lahore alone. More than two hundred thousand Moslem refugees from eastern Punjab have entered Pakistan, and hundreds of thousands more are awaiting transportation and military protection. Only makeshift facilities have been provided for them. In Lahore twenty thousand miserable Moslems tax the capacity of the barracks which once housed the Chinese troops being trained for General Stilwell. In a

ANDREW ROTH has been in the Near and Far East for more than a year studying political developments in countries emerging from colonial status.

caravan of a hundred people who had been walking seven days, one woman arrived without a stitch of clothing, clutching newspapers to cover her shame.

The trains plying between the new dominions are crammed with refugees, hundreds clinging to the roofs of the cars. I was in Kasur station when a train came in with its grisly freight of dead and wounded Hindus and Sikhs who had been attacked by Moslems while fleeing to safety. The train reeked with the sickly-sweet smell of death, and flies buzzed around the bodies of men, women, and children cut to pieces because they belonged to the wrong community. On the same day the crack Punjab mail arrived in Lahore from Delhi with some four hundred dead passengers. It was stopped first when passing through the Sikh state of Faridkot; armed Sikhs pulled out Moslem passengers and slaughtered and robbed them. Later, on the Pakistan side of the border, a Moslem mob killed the Hindus and Sikhs aboard. After these outrages train service between New Delhi and Lahore was halted.

Desire for loot has played a part in all these communal conflicts, and rape and abduction figure largely in them because there have always been fewer women than men. The attacking bands often contain thugs who use the religious-political warfare as a cover for their crimes. This is a time when an unsavory character can kill a member of another community, loot his possessions, carry off his wife or young daughter, and receive the approval of his own community.

BACKGROUND OF THE BUTCHERY

Behind this unprecedented communal butchery is a half-year of bitter political conflict over the strategic Punjab. The Moslems formed a 57 per cent majority in the undivided Punjab, and the Moslem League was determined to win this rich, food-producing province for Pakistan. The plan was opposed by the Sikhs, four-and-one-half million of whom—out of a total of five-and-one-half million Sikhs in India—live in the Punjab. It was also opposed by the Hindus, who, although forming less than 30 per cent of the population, have dominated industry, commerce, banking, and the professions in the province and who felt that if it went to Pakistan, discriminatory legislation would drive them out of business.

The first wave of communal riots in the Punjab came when the League tried to seize power early this year. With the support of the British governor, a provincial Cabinet had been scraped together from all the minorities; the League attempted to overturn it and to shake the strong police rule which had been imposed. Gigantic demonstrations by League followers reached strata of the Moslem population which had never before participated in politics, and the Sikh leadership decided to stop the movement by a show of force.

It is impossible to understand events in the Punjab

without some knowledge of the peculiar mentality of the Sikhs. Recognizable everywhere by the fact that they never shave or cut their hair and always wear a *kirpan*, or sword, the Sikhs have incredible confidence in their own fighting ability. They ruled the Punjab before the British came and became favorites of the British when they helped quell the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857. Having supported Britain wholeheartedly in World War I, they were favored with land grants, special legislation to protect their holy places, permits to carry their swords, and much praise for their "martial character."

The Sikh community is led by one Master Tara Singh—"master" because he was once a schoolmaster—who suffers from delusions of grandeur, if not other delusions. When British fortunes were at their lowest ebb in World War II, he and other prominent Sikhs made plans and collected arms for seizing power in the Punjab if Britain collapsed. Last April I asked him if he hoped to establish Sikh rule in the province after the departure of the British. He smiled and said hopefully, "Who knows what can come out of chaos!" At the end of August I asked him again about his hopes to rule the Punjab, and he replied, "I always hope there will be Sikh rule," adding, "Just as the Jews hope to rule Palestine, it is my superstition [*sic*] to rule Punjab."

Last March, under such leadership, the Sikhs opened their campaign by slaughtering Moslem inhabitants of the Chowk Pragadas district of Amritsar. The Moslems of western Punjab, inflamed by grossly exaggerated reports of the Amritsar killing, retaliated by slaughtering three thousand Sikhs and Hindus. In this they were urged on by the landlords, who would rather see the hungry Moslem peasants killing and looting Sikh and Hindu shopkeepers and moneylenders than agitating for lower rents.

The present round of killings was occasioned by the division of the Punjab, on which the Indian Congress insisted before it would agree to the secession of Pakistan. Much to the surprise of everyone, the Sikh leaders indorsed the decision of the Congress; their idea was to divide the Punjab in such a way as to give India not only the eastern part, in which non-Moslems were a majority, but also those areas in which the Sikhs had temples or heavy investments—which would have taken the heart out of western Punjab with its Moslem majority.

Claims and counter-claims were pressed so hotly that the fires of communal conflict were ignited in Lahore, commercial center of the Punjab and sometimes described as the "Paris of India." First there were knife battles; then the Moslem *goondas* (thugs) began to set fire to the business houses and residences of the substantial Sikh and Hindu minority—consisting of 300,000 of the 800,000 inhabitants of Lahore. Moslems justified this as a way of establishing the claims of the majority. "Destroy their houses," they said, "and with them their claims to

Lahore on the basis of property." Retaliation on the Hindu side came from a fascist-minded organization called the Rashtriya Sevak Singh, whose whispered reasoning was, "Bomb the Moslems to death and wipe out their majority in Lahore."

Despite curfew laws which kept people inside tight-shut houses in the 120° heat, and despite the presence of British troops who shot on sight, this grisly game continued. In Lahore the Moslem majority won out, and virtually all of the minority population fled from the city. In Amritsar the slight Hindu-Sikh majority drove out the Moslem minority.

THE BATTLE OF THE VILLAGES

When the conflict shifted from the big cities to the villages, the Punjab Boundary Force, composed of mixed Moslem, Hindu, and Sikh units under a British commander, proved utterly inadequate to check it. Maps at headquarters were sprinkled with colored pins marking villages that had been attacked, burned, looted. And the predominant color of the pinheads showed that in an overwhelming number of cases they were Moslem villages attacked by Sikh bands. Thus, in Amritsar District 100 Moslem villages were attacked as against 7 Sikh. A plane flight over Jullundur District on August 22 disclosed the same pattern.

The Sikh bands may contain as many as 800 men under the command of blue-turbaned leaders of the warrior caste. They usually attack in four waves. The first wave, armed with rifles, Bren guns, and Sten guns, aims to drive the Moslem villagers from the rooftops, where they have accumulated stones and perhaps a shotgun or two for a primitive defense. The second wave throws grenades, army-type and home-made, into the village to cause damage and confusion; the third wave follows with spears tipped with burning rags. As the terrorized villagers emerge from their houses, the fourth wave attacks the young men with swords, spears, and axes, carries off many of the young girls, and drives the others away with the warning: "Go to your Pakistan! If you dare come back here, we'll kill you to the last child!"

The Khan of Mamdot, Premier of West Punjab, accidentally received a first-hand account of an attack on a Moslem village from one of the participants. While driving back from peace conferences with officials of the East Punjab government he passed a smoldering village in which Sikh looters were prowling. One of them, seeing the Sikh soldiers accompanying him as a bodyguard, took him for an official of the (non-Moslem) East Punjab government and proceeded to boast of their deeds. "I myself," he said, "speared five persons to death." This man declared that the band had received a message from a Sikh member of the Legislative Assembly directing them to attack the village at a certain time. His story, coupled with the fact that hundreds of Mos-

lem villages were attacked simultaneously by well-prepared Sikhs strongly suggests a planned operation.

Many British military and civilian officials believe that the Sikh leaders are responsible, though they may not have wanted the violence to go to such frenzied extremes. It is suspected by some that the operation may have been planned by Sikh veterans of the Japanese-sponsored Indian National Army, including General Mohan Singh, who deserted to the Japanese after three days' fighting in Malaya. No direct evidence links the General with the Sikh attacks, but there is evidence that Colonel Narinjam Singh Gil, who was associated with him in the formation of the I. N. A. and is still with him, is connected with one of the big Sikh bands. When I interviewed Colonel Gil, he told me that a civil war to prevent the Moslem secession would have been preferable to acceptance of partition. "The United States fought a civil war to prevent the secession of the South," he reminded me.

An added complication is the role played by the Sikh princely states in the area, particularly Patiala and Faridkot, in the center of eastern Punjab. Both apparently feel they will derive advantage from furthering Sikh expansion at the expense of the Moslems. Jeeps and trucks belonging to them have been repeatedly reported carrying arms to the Sikhs, and some weeks ago the Lahore residence of the Maharajah of Faridkot was found to be a storehouse of arms. For the last six months the Maharajah of Faridkot has been recruiting a "special police force" of ex-service men and offering a bonus of five rupees a month for men with mortar experience. This is a strange requirement for a policeman, but military authorities have been noticing that some of the Moslem villages have been attacked with mortars.

Considerable criticism is directed at the British, particularly for their location of the boundary line. While it is true that no boundary would have made everybody happy, a good many Sikh areas were left on the Pakistan side and a good many Moslem areas on the Hindustan side for no apparent reason. Among Moslems there is also criticism of the small size of the Boundary Force and its lack of observation and attack planes. The force was automatically limited in size by the decision not to use British troops, and its efficiency has been lessened by the fact that the soldiers are beginning to take sides. Sikh troops have stood by while Sikh bands have attacked Moslems, and Moslem troops have allowed their coreligionists to attack Hindus and Sikhs.

Perhaps the most incomprehensible mistake made by the British was their refusal to do anything substantial about the Sikh preparations for the current butchery, although these were fully reported by Political Intelligence. When Lord Mountbatten was warned beforehand about Sikh plans he is said to have replied, "Don't worry about the Sikhs; I can handle them."

EFFORTS TOWARD PEACE

The past fortnight has seen several conferences of officials on both sides, culminating in the meeting of Pandit Nehru, Lord Mountbatten, and M. A. Jinnah in Lahore at the end of August. One of the great obstacles to peace is the inflamed feelings on both sides; people believe and spread the most exaggerated versions of the atrocities of the other side but never seem to hear or remember what their own side has done. Even Pandit Nehru has revealed this lack of objectivity. On one occasion, although impartial reports indicated that probably twenty Moslems were being killed in his own dominion for every one non-Moslem in Pakistan, he made a statement emphasizing the terrible happenings on the Pakistan side of the border. And Nehru is certainly the least communal-minded of India's leaders.

Pakistan, which is smaller and weaker than India, is having great difficulty absorbing the two hundred thousand refugees thrust upon it. There is considerable sus-

picion among Moslems that some leaders of Congress, including its "strong man," Sardar Patel, regard the border crisis with equanimity because they think it will weaken Pakistan and hasten a request for admission to the Indian Dominion. Apparently Mr. Jinnah shares this suspicion, for in his appeal of August 24, calling on Moslems to exercise restraint, he declared, "Let me warn Moslems to beware of their enemies who . . . would like to see [Pakistan] destroyed at its very inception and would like nothing better than that widespread disorders should break out within its borders."

One day as I sat with a political leader discussing the situation, a villager came in with a new tale of death and destruction and ended by asking, "Tell me, sir, has war been declared between Pakistan and Hindustan?" To this villager and to tens of thousands of refugees on the roads across the blood-spattered boundary, the Dominions of Pakistan and India do not seem like the brave new world they hoped for.

Thomas Garrigue Masaryk

BY ROBERT BASS

TEN years ago, on September 14, the first President of the Czechoslovak Republic died. He was President of a country which attracts relatively little attention, but it is still appropriate to recall Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, for his teachings and his example have something of importance for our times.

His life shows what a man can accomplish. It is a success story hardly rivaled by the classic success stories of American history. Masaryk was born of a peasant family and was obliged from the very start to make his own way in surroundings much less favorable than he would have encountered in the United States of that day. In spite of everything, he was able to get the best education, and he began his professional career as a lecturer in philosophy at the University of Vienna. Later he was transferred to the Czech section of the University of Prague. His work there was eventually to lead him to the Presidency of the newly created Czechoslovak state.

The first step consisted in learning to understand the problems which his nation faced inside the Dual Monarchy. The second was to educate the Czechs through his work as a teacher, writer, and journalist. He realized early that Czech intellectual life was dependent on two developments: the reawakening which was begun by

Palacky and Havlicek in the mid-nineteenth century must be carried forward; and the romanticism which had stimulated that movement must be replaced by a genuine historical insight and self-imposed criticism. The Czechs, he felt, must learn to evaluate their culture, abandon their narrow horizons, and try to relate their problems to the whole pattern of European affairs. Through his personal influence Masaryk stimulated the mental life of the university, and through his writings he introduced Czech students and intellectuals to the main currents of European thought and led them to examine carefully the true historical bases of Czech national life.

Masaryk's political career began in 1891 when he was elected to the Austrian Parliament. There he began to study the position of the Czechs and the other minority groups in the empire and found an urgent need for a redistribution of political power. It was necessary to devise a way by which the empire's many component groups could live together harmoniously and share the responsibilities of government. Greater political and cultural autonomy for the Slavs would have to be achieved if the regime was to continue in existence. That was Masaryk's conception of the problem, and it was a sound one.

In practice, of course, he could accomplish nothing against an aristocratic German oligarchy and a corrupt bureaucracy, but his efforts in the years before the First World War gained him a European reputation. In the Hilsner ritual murder case of 1899 he exposed the prejudice-ridden administration and the narrow-minded

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bigotry of its chiefs. Later, in the Agram treason trial which followed the annexation by Austria of Bosnia and Herzegovina, he revealed to all Europe the scheming ambitions of a ruling class which overestimated its own strength and tried by fraudulent means to extend its power in the Balkans. The first case won Masaryk the friendship of Jews all over the world and of men of every race who abhorred religious and racial prejudice. The second helped him to establish effective contact with the southern Slavs and proved him to be the champion of certain broad principles rather than a mere defender of his country's interests.

On the eve of the Great War Masaryk went into voluntary exile. He saw that no effective reform was obtainable inside the empire and chose the courageous alternative of working for the emancipation of his people and other Slav groups from abroad. The difficulties of the task were tremendous. Little thought had been given to the matter before, and no adequate plans existed. The foreign offices of the Allies were not acquainted with the details of the situation or aware of its urgency. The Czech resistance group was without funds and could give no material assistance to the cause.

Masaryk's genius as a statesman and as an organizer was proved in those years. He went first to Geneva, then to France and England. His primary task was to get a hearing and eventual acceptance of his ideas. To this end he believed he must create through the press an enlightened public opinion which would first understand and sympathize and then help him in his work. No less necessary was a real agreement with the Allied war leaders, which Masaryk achieved through a persistently historical and sane exposition of his own nation's stand. Both his purposes were accomplished when his program was made a part of the official war aims. His next mission carried him to Russia on the eve of the military surrender and the Bolshevik revolution. In spite of the difficulties he encountered there, he succeeded in organizing a Czech army which began its journey to the western front via Siberia, Japan, and America under his personal direction.

The end of the war found Masaryk in America, rallying American Czechs and Slovaks to his cause and extending his agreement with the American war leaders. He was in this country when news came of his election to the Presidency of a free Czechoslovak state.

During the seventeen years of his Presidency Masaryk was able to exert unchallenged influence in the state. His reputation was tremendous, and his personality soon became a tradition among the Czechs. Until his retirement in 1935 he worked untiringly to make Czechoslovakia a progressive democracy—as it turned out, the only one in Central Europe. Under his guidance and within the framework of the constitution, the government proved to be the most stable on the Continent and the

parliamentary system very nearly as well disciplined as that of England or America.

MASARYK was unquestionably a world figure, and his services to the cause of democracy were many. His activity as a statesman was his historical contribution. In the realm of political theory he made another contribution which gives immediate pertinence to his memory. This was his appraisal of the scientific outlook as the really democratic one. Democracy, in his view, meant a complete outlook on the world and on life. He conceived of it as a condition wherein men live by knowledge and principle and order their lives through a concrete awareness of the nature of things. He saw that what passed for democracy in his day did not correspond with his idea of it, and he hoped that what he saw was not yet its full-blown form. His own concept of a "more profoundly humanitarian democracy" was a departure from the traditional concepts of individual irresponsibility. He saw clearly that one of the great problems of the present day was the disintegration of organized group and political life, and he felt that the only real chance for the formation of a stable political structure and ideology lay in making secure the principle of democratic authority in society. He pointed out that this principle would have to penetrate deeply into the consciousness of modern man and become the guide for individual conduct and thought. That meant, of course, a new emphasis on the ideal of citizenship, of which he was such a fine embodiment. It meant also that democracy could not be associated any longer with the middle class, which gave it its modern form. Implied in Masaryk's view is the active participation of everyone in the political life of the state. Healthy democracy is an organic thing, and it becomes the role of the individual to understand its cohesive character and to contribute to it. Masaryk sensed that anything which works to destroy this basic integrity of the social system is eventually itself destroyed, but he observed that the increasing complexity of the large democratic state does not necessarily foster disruptive tendencies; rather it makes the possibilities of individual participation in the working of the system infinitely greater.

Education was the crux of the new democratic ideology and action. The application of knowledge and intelligence to the conduct of life was democracy itself. An accurate appraisal of individual and social relationships became, when acted upon, the essence of democratic life. Ignorance, on the other hand, was the worst enemy of social living. It gave rise to false values and actually built the whole structure of social life on a lie.

These ideas are important today when everyone stands confronted with the need of understanding the bases of world conflict, and when a wholesale revaluation of world ideologies seems required. Masaryk, we feel, still

has real pertinence to the effort. His analysis of the problem and the solution he envisaged are modern and fundamental. It is fitting, therefore, not only to pay him homage as an outstanding European statesman but to remember and study him when we face the questions on whose solution our survival actually depends.

Sun, Sea, and Sand

BY HORACE SUTTON

Hamilton, Bermuda

IT HAS been about a year since automobiles were introduced to Bermuda's roads, and six years since the United States came down to build an airfield at one end of the island and a naval base at the other.

These two events have caused marked changes in post-war Bermuda. The colony's cost of living has risen anywhere from 68 to 100 per cent. A beach hotel on the American plan which charged from \$9 to \$16 for a room and bath in 1939 is currently asking from \$16 to \$35 for the same accommodation. Rooms in the commercial hotels and rooming houses which were \$1.50 and \$2 are \$3 and \$5 today. Everyone made money during the war, and the colony seems to have developed a smug complacency which has been resented by visitors. One of the most barbed criticisms came from Norman Bel Geddes, who was here recently and was quoted as saying, "We are continually irritated . . . merely tolerated. Don't go to Bermuda, just send a check and stay at home."

Meanwhile, as the Bermudians like to point out, the sun, the sea, and the sand are still the same. And today, via a Colonial Airlines DC-4 Skycruiser, only three and a half hours after leaving New York or Washington you can soar over Bermuda's frosty white houses that sparkle among the cedar trees like lumps of sugar scattered on a lawn. Three air lines are flying in, but the ship service is still limited, with no relief in sight until the Queen of Bermuda goes back into service sometime next spring.

Whereas Bermuda formerly had accommodations for 4,000 tourists, only 1,621 beds are now available for occupancy. Less than ten hotels and rooming houses of those in operation follow an unrestricted policy. Among these are the Summerside, Buena Vista, Fairylands Club, Oxford House, New Windsor Hotel, American House, Everest Hotel, and Somers Inn. Three of the leading hotels—the Castle Harbor, the Bermudiana, and the St. George—have been purchased by an Anglo-American company headed by the Hilton Hotel Corporation, which includes among its interests the Plaza in New York and the Palmer House in Chicago. The St. George Hotel, the only one of the Hilton interests which is now open, maintains partial restriction, on a percentage basis. Colo-

nel Joseph Binns, Hilton vice-president, has said, "The policy of the Hilton Hotels is to run each hotel in the manner best suited to the locality and surroundings." For the manner of the locality one need only walk up Reid Street in Hamilton, where a sign on a dingy "tu'-penny, ha'penny" luncheonette reads, "Koffee Kup—Quick Snacks—Restricted Clientele—Upstairs." Travel agents knowing of the restrictions have used the code names Oleander and Hibiscus in requesting accommodations in Bermuda. Oleander signifies the applicant is Gentile; Hibiscus means Jewish.

Bermuda's new miniature taxis, of which there are several hundred, will be a godsend to anyone who might have difficulty making the transition from the speed of American living to the horse-and-carriage pace which used to prevail here. The cabs charge 40 cents the first mile, 20 cents a mile thereafter, and they afford the tourist a chance to see more of the sights than he could take in on a leisurely carriage ride.

At Devil's Hole one can drop a hookless fishing line into a pool and try to pull up a grouper, a turtle, or a shark. The Angel's Grotto serves food on a water-side terrace and offers swimming, boating, and dancing. Descending into the Leamington Caves, one can wander among the stalactites and stalagmites, choose a live lobster from a subterranean crystal pool, and sit down to eat it at the end of the tour in a handsome, cedar-paneled dining room above ground. Dinner is \$3.50. There is tennis on the government courts at Hamilton at \$1 an hour; an aquarium at The Flats allows one to walk on the ocean floor in a diving helmet; and the home of Tom Moore, the Irish poet, is open for food and drink. Some hotels have swimming pools, but many people find Bermuda's greatest attraction in its secluded beaches, where one can swim in the lime-green sea. Coral Beach charges a dollar a day if one can arrange to be introduced, but most of the south-shore beaches are open to all at no cost.

Like everything else, the prices in the shops have gone sky-high, but they are nevertheless a substantial cut below prices in the States for the same articles. Perfume is at least 40 per cent below American prices. Fine cashmere cloth costs \$16 a yard. British tweeds are about \$5 a yard. Argyle socks are \$3.50, and scotch is \$4 a fifth. Many shops exhibit hand-carved cedar objects. You can bring home \$100 worth of merchandise, including a gallon of liquor, duty free. Colonial Airlines allows you sixty-six pounds, which, if you are no clothes-horse, is about twice the amount of clothing you would need for a week's stay. The local costume for men is still knee-length shorts worn with high stockings, shirt, and tie, an ensemble born of tropical necessity and British severity.

Passports and tourist cards are not required, but American immigration demands proof of citizenship, a detail which can be established by anything from a driver's license to a strong argument.

Del Vayo—Will De Gaulle Come Back?

Paris, September 12

OCTOBER will be a crucial month for France. The municipal elections will take place. Under the constitution of the Fourth Republic general elections are not held as frequently as before; so the municipal balloting becomes an important test of the parties' strength and popularity. The new factor this time is Charles de Gaulle, for the General has decided to use the elections as a proving ground for his movement, the Rally of the French People.

Unquestionably he has chosen a propitious moment. It is a mistake to think of De Gaulle as a man totally divorced from politics, above the battle. His tactical skill in politics is no less highly developed than his mastery of military tactics. Despite repeated pleas from his friends, De Gaulle refused to leave his retreat at Colombey-les-deux-Eglises until two things had happened: the Communists had reached the peak of their popular strength, and the United States had assumed command of the drive to stop Russia.

De Gaulle's original ambition was not to head a simple rightist movement. He would have liked to lead the mass of the French people away from extremism along that middle road which appeals to his logical mind. But the struggle in France, as everywhere in Europe, is more and more between left and right, between revolution and counter-revolution, even when revolution takes only the form of nationalization, and counter-revolution that of sacrificing everything for an American loan. In Europe today the middle of the road grows less and less passable. Because they failed to see this the French Socialists have suffered a steady loss of votes. For the same reasons De Gaulle has been pushed back into the right—to which he had always belonged until the war made him leader of the non-party Resistance.

The General's return from voluntary retirement and his decision to enter candidates in the municipal elections were carefully timed. The R. P. F. will go before the voters as the "party of order," a title claimed in the past by every French movement that set out to "stop revolution." But a party of order can only justify its existence in a revolutionary period when the bourgeoisie is terrified by warnings that the country is on the edge of violent upheaval. Actually France today contains several revolutionary elements, and the reference in my last article to the 1789 Convention was no mere figure of speech. The Parisians who demonstrated before the palace of Louis XVI at Versailles were asking for bread. France's present bread ration has been cut from 250 to 200 grams a day, and a large part of the population gets even less. By October the ration may be cut again, to 150 grams. This year's wheat harvest is the poorest in more than a hundred years. Nor can the country hope for wheat substitutes; because of the severe drought the potato crop threatens to be seven million quintals below pre-harvest estimates.

Taken together, all this offers the perfect opportunity for the Rally of the French People to present itself as the

only solution. It has merely to campaign on two issues: the danger that the Communists will play on the desperation of a people threatened by famine, and the government's inability to cope with the economic crisis. De Gaulle's program becomes very simple—anti-communism and a presidential state.

The Gaullist propaganda machine seems to have large funds at its disposal; current rumors credit American sources, but it is more probable that the contributions come from French business men who, together with the professional class and women, form the bulk of his following. De Gaulle has gathered around him a band of able men, notably Capitant, Soustelle, Pleven, Palewski, and Malraux. Malraux's literary talent has full play in the propaganda of the R. P. F., and he appears to be enjoying his role as apostle of action and exponent of the ego. However, in the final analysis the main asset of the movement is De Gaulle. Among all the historical allusions applied to De Gaulle the most apt is the remark of Louis Napoleon: "My name is my program."

All these factors tend to create the impression that the Rally of the French People is an irresistible movement. Yet Parisians who have just returned from summer vacations in the provinces tell me that the country is not nearly as enthusiastic about De Gaulle as his devoted followers plus certain foreign correspondents would have us believe. The General himself, recognizing the limitations of his movement, has cautiously declared that in next month's elections the R. P. F. will support candidates, regardless of party affiliation, who join and subscribe to its principles. They are even encouraged not to leave their party but rather to become the General's "companions in the test of public salvation." In this way De Gaulle remains above parties—as he has always desired—and at the same time takes full advantage of their support.

While continuing his attacks on the Communists and his denunciations of Russian expansionism, the General realizes that he cannot depend solely on American favor—after all, in France Americans have no votes. In his speech last Sunday he came out sharply against both Russia and the American plan to rebuild a strong Germany. De Gaulle understands French opinion, and he is working hard to win the broadest kind of backing. Those who hope he will resort to a coup de force if defeated at the polls would do well to ponder a warning he issued back in 1943: "If there are still any Bastilles left, I think they would do well to open their doors voluntarily. When a fight breaks out between the people and the Bastille, the Bastille always ends up in the wrong." Last week-end a million Parisian workmen demonstrated at another historic site; but the Champs de Mars is not far from the Place de la Bastille.

[This is the second of three articles on French politics. In the last Mr. del Vayo will discuss the chances of the left parties in the October elections.]

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Totalitarian Myth

THE LAST DAYS OF HITLER. By H. R. Trevor-Roper. The Macmillan Company, \$3.

LIKE most other forms of writing, history is today pretty much a neglected art. A brilliant professional performance like H. R. Trevor-Roper's "The Last Days of Hitler" is for that reason the more welcome and reassuring. And Trevor-Roper's triumph is all the more astonishing because it is achieved, not at the comparatively easy game of writing about the past, but at the tougher and more complex discipline of contemporary history.

In his capacity as intelligence officer Trevor-Roper was ordered in September, 1945, to investigate the circumstances surrounding the death of Hitler. He interrogated those who survived the last fantastic days in the bunker, scrutinized all the evidence with a critical eye, and put together as well as anyone can what actually took place in Hitler's last days. But the brilliance of "The Last Days of Hitler" lies not just in its meticulous sifting of evidence and reconstruction of the crime—a job which any good private eye could do—but in the historical imagination which brings the events to life and puts them in an almost classic setting.

Trevor-Roper's characterizations of the Nazi leaders are so precise, penetrating, and almost lapidary that it is hard to think they will be seriously revised in years to come. Himmler, credulous, indecisive, the real dupe of the Nordic nonsense; Goebbels, the jesuitical intellectual; Bormann, the persistent schemer; Göring, the tired voluptuary: as Trevor-Roper sketches them, the apparent inconsistencies which have long puzzled students of the Nazi nightmare fall into place. His special dramatic triumph lies in the confrontation of Hitler, that man of demonic will, and Albert Speer, the honest technocrat who liked to build and thought that politics were irrelevant.

They were the worst and the best in

Germany. Yet, as Trevor-Roper concludes, in a sense "Speer is the real criminal of Nazi Germany. . . . His keen intelligence diagnosed the nature and the mutations of Nazi government and policy; he saw and despised the personalities around him; he heard their outrageous orders and understood their fantastic ambitions; but he did nothing. Supposing politics to be irrelevant, he turned aside, and built roads and bridges and factories, while the logical consequences of government by madmen emerged."

Though his focus is the death of Hitler, Trevor-Roper throws off many fascinating insights about the nature of Nazi dictatorship. His book corroborates the conclusion of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey that the Nazi economy was never fully concentrated on war production and that "total mobilization" remained a gleam in the eye of Goebbels. He also develops a striking theory about the impossibility of real totalitarianism. Once you have government by irresponsible absolutism, he argues, then "every man whose position makes him either strong or vulnerable must protect himself against surprise by reserving from the common pool whatever power he has managed to acquire. Thus there is, in the end, no common pool at all." The structure of the German state, far from being "pyramidal" or "monolithic," became instead a confusion of private empires, private armies, and private intelligence services.

Trevor-Roper does not refuse the opportunities for irony and moral judgment in which his material abounds. Thirty-three years old and an Oxford don, he has clearly set himself in the school of Gibbon. But the result is not the flatulent historical prose of an Arthur Bryant or the hopped-up rhetoric of a Guedalla; it is a successful transposition of the Gibbon manner into contemporary English. Like everything else about "The Last Days of Hitler," it is an astonishing and resounding success.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

Prelude to Planning

AMERICA'S NEEDS AND RESOURCES. A Twentieth Century Fund Survey Which Includes Estimates for 1950 and 1960. By J. Frederic Dewhurst and Associates. Twentieth Century Fund, \$5.

AMERICANS have recently emerged from a great war victorious—with homes and factories undamaged, almost unrivaled military power, much the highest national income not only in the world but in their own history, and virtually full employment. Yet they are ill at ease and filled with forebodings. They lack confidence in their economic order.

Is their anxiety justified? The recent publication of this detailed and scholarly study has led some commentators to assert that it is not, for the volume not only shows, on the basis of a great wealth of economic statistics, the amazing upsurge of production and general welfare which has occurred in the past but also demonstrates the possibility of similar progress in the future.

The average per capita income in this country grew from about \$270 in 1850 to \$1,170 in 1944. The total net output of goods and services increased twenty-seven times in the same period, but the labor force employed in 1944 was only eight and a half times as large as in 1850 and the working week decreased from seventy hours to forty-seven. This almost miraculous achievement was due largely to the substitution of power derived from coal, oil, gas, and water for the muscle power of men and animals. We used seventy times as much mineral energy per man-hour of work in 1940 as we did in 1850; and if this tendency continues we shall be using in 1960 a hundred times as much as we used a hundred years earlier.

The great question is whether or not this trend will continue. Haven't we come to a dead end? Surely we can't go on forever increasing production at the rate that was possible in a new and developing country. After all, the frontier has passed, population growth has

slowed down, and industry is already highly mechanized.

"America's Needs and Resources" makes it clear that we can still expand our production—if we satisfy all the wants and reasonable needs of the population. The authors of the report estimate the size of the population in 1950 and in 1960. They make a conservative guess at what the national product is likely to be in those years. In 1950, according to this estimate, the national product will be a little more than a third larger than it was in 1940 or, in money terms, \$204 billion; it was \$200 billion in 1946. Yet, assuming that there will be no marked change in the distribution of income and that people will continue to buy according to their means, those at the bottom of the scale will still lack enough for a "minimum of health and decency" as defined in standard family budgets. The deficiency in 1950 would be 11 per cent of the total output; in 1960 it would be 7 per cent. And progress need not stop even when everyone had been brought up to the minimum—a level which most readers of this article would find scanty indeed.

So far so good, but if this report is used only for purposes of reassurance that if we conduct our affairs in the future as we have in the past we shall have no cause for worry, the effort put into it will have been largely wasted. And in any case curves on charts showing trends of rising income are not sufficient to quell popular fears of economic disaster.

No sensible person has ever supposed that want has been abolished in America or that there will not be enough for all of us to do if human needs are well satisfied. Unemployment in 1932, 1921, or any other period did not spring from the fact that there were too many goods in the hands of those who needed them most. The fear that the nation might be equipped to produce more than people would need or want is a bogymen of the economic nursery.

"America's Needs and Resources" does not go into these questions. It does not show and does not pretend to show how we may avoid depressions and unemployment; it does not prove that production and wealth will actually grow in the future as they have in the

past—but only that the increase is possible.

Let us look at America's needs and resources from another point of view. Suppose, instead of passively accepting historical trends as the pattern of the future, we assumed that everyone in the country should have adequate food, shoes, clothing, houses, transportation, schools, doctors, hospitals, recreation, government services. Suppose we recognized that, in view of the spotty record of the past and the shortages of the present, this consummation could be brought about only by careful planning. The first necessity would be a careful survey of the facts—and that is what this report provides. In chapter after chapter experts demonstrate in detail what the needs will be in many fields; they show what big jobs remain to be done in satisfying even minimum requirements. They indicate that at the lower levels of income the major lack will be food; at other levels housing, medical care, and so on. They point out the large government expenditures that would be required. They show that with an intelligent foreign-trade policy we would not lack the necessary raw materials, and that the question of how much we can produce depends on the rate of increase of output per man-hour and the number of hours worked.

These facts have little value as prediction; they have enormous value as a definition of the problem. The report is like a map of the topography of a region which the invader is about to enter. It does not tell us where we shall go, but it does tell us what we are likely to find if we follow any given route. The rest is up to us.

The right way to deal with anxiety about the economic future, like the right way to deal with any other anxiety, is not to pretend that everything will come out all right but to formulate and carry through a program based on a careful and balanced survey of the facts.

It may be too late now to prevent the recession which is likely to follow the present inflation of prices and profits. But it is not too late to plan against the depression which will probably come when the backlogs of demand for commercial housing and automobiles are satisfied.

GEORGE SOULE

Three Poets

POEMS OF DEDICATION. By Stephen Spender. Random House. \$2.

LOVE POEMS. By George Barker. The Dial Press. \$2.

LAMENT FOR THE SLEEPWALKER. By Dunstan Thompson. Dodd, Mead and Company. \$2.50.

READING the three latest books of Spender, Barker, and Thompson—in that order—left me with an abnormous feeling. It was as strange as that. I felt as if I had traveled through three generations of poets whose family resemblance, decreasing in the ratio of one to one-half to one-quarter, was noticeable mainly through the coarsening of the features. The resemblance seemed largely a physical mystery, Thompson being present in his poems the most corporeally, and Spender the least. The less poet, the more poem.

Spender, like Barker and Thompson, writes of course from his own experience, his own feelings. But whereas Barker, to a large extent, and Thompson, almost entirely, write from *their* feelings, Spender writes from *his* feelings. The feelings are more important than the poet who feels them, simply because they are the bridge from poet to reader. Both can feel; they have that capacity in common. And if they do, understanding is at least possible. For the poet and the reader really go through the same creative process: through the medium of the poem the poet relates his own experience to universalized experience; through the medium of the poem the reader relates the universalized experience to his own experience. In that process lies the marriage of true minds in which both poet and reader are dissolved and only the poem remains.

Spender is one of the few poets today who can make his experience his reader's experience. Comparing his new book with his previous one, "Ruins and Visions," one can locate the general direction of his development. The main theme of the previous volume was separation, the struggle to relate himself to something larger than himself: the poetry derived from the struggle—not merely his own—and from the misunderstanding of it. In the new poems the theme is meeting—sometimes not quite meeting but correlation, connection: the poetry is in the coming to-

gether, the fusing, of what is inside the self with what is outside. Consequently, he can begin to express himself more fully and more truly. The title of the book is accurate; he is free to dedicate himself. In the new poems people, events, nature, function more freely and organically than before.

Spender's greatest shortcomings have always been his unsure ear and sense of form. Spender is an eye poet, and it is no accident that the eye is one of his favorite symbols. The eye to him is the intellect, meaning, the mirror which both discloses the inner world and discovers the outer world. The eye is also space as the ear is time. (Compare Eliot's use of eye symbols in *The Hollow Men*.) To a time-ridden civilization, Spender's insistence on the visible and spatial is a virtue, just as his refusal to surrender to facile sound (Barker, Thompson) is a virtue. But notwithstanding that, the meaning of a poem must be expressed through sound, which is to poetry what current is to electricity. When Spender writes, "The core of the day/Is these twin spheres of eyes," the sound annihilates any meaning the lines might possibly convey. Another poem (*Lost*) is inactivated by two bad rhymes which dissociate sound and meaning. Still other poems, while intellectually developed from stanza to stanza, fail because the sound does not bring the meaning close enough to the surface to create the current without which the total effect of the poem becomes inhibited. This inhibition, the central fault of many of the poems, occurs when, within the frame of the poem, a sure relationship of part to part and parts to the whole is not established. Then his metaphors sound forced and contrived; and it is the sound that tells the reader they are untrue. Spender also misuses run-on lines, sometimes to the point where a six-line stanza can be written just as well in three lines. It is significant that when his meaning is less directly personal, as in the third stanza of *Midsummer*, sound and meaning are beautifully fused.

On the whole, however, the new poems are more controlled and traditional; many of them contain their meanings more surely; and the general tone is less imperative than it is in "Ruins and Visions." The advance is clear, and that, in terms of Spender's



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development, is more important than the consideration that "Ruins and Visions" contains more examples of his best work, if also more of his worst, than the present collection. In the meantime, we have some half-dozen good poems—a large number—of which I would call the sixth poem of *Elegy for Margaret* and *The Trance* the most successful. I prefer the former—it is one of Spender's best—but a stanza from *The Trance* is more quotable:

To that deep care we are committed
Beneath the wildness of our flesh
And shuddering horror of our dream,
Where unmasked agony is permitted.
Our bodies, stripped of clothes that seem,
And our souls, stripped of beauty's mesh,
Meet our true selves, their charms outwitted.

George Barker's new poems do not, at least to me, reveal anything new in his poetic development. He is still almost all ear. He still produces orchestrations of sounds which move from and to the never-never land of the senses. At his best, the sounds reverberate on the senses of the reader, freeing them for a moment of physical weight like music, but as poetry, dissolving the fear rather than clarifying the meaning of the experience.

But it is seldom that "Love rises from her bed of senses." More often than not, Barker's meaning is so thin, so inexact, at times so empty, that his sound becomes disenchanted and breaks up, exposing a mere collection of now uninflated words, which, since they mean nothing, give the lie to the emotion that produced them. Most of the poems are all electricity and no current. When he writes, "I also go down all roads and/ Ask everything why," the reader can only conclude that to express a thought so badly must mean that it is not true.

Barker's love poems come in cycles; there are four of them, twenty-four poems, most of which can be read as fast as the eye can run. The best are in the Fourth Cycle where the sound rises to a distracted wail and his subjection to the burden of his experience is communicated.

Barker must find a way out of what he calls his "mnemonic room," the prison of his own experience. Right now, his endeavor to do so is unsuccessful;

mostly he just manufactures meanings when he tries to find the larger connection. He is aware of his dilemma. One can only wait and see and, if one is concerned about poetry, hope hard.

The promise of Dunstan Thompson's first book is to no computable extent fortified by "Lament for the Sleepwalker." He is so far only a thick shadow of Barker—and of Whitman. Thompson's poems do not, even in terms of sound, free themselves from the burden of their author's experience. They are sodden with sound; they never rise from the sensual floor. They get under the reader's feet; he steps on them. His eye is unable to crawl its way through them on its fool's errand to the brain. Thompson is concerned only with his own feelings, which he sees through a landscape of sex so befurrowed, festooned, and tricked out with poetic claptrap that when he writes "Guilt like a rust enamels me," the reader—this reader—must, while removing the slag from his brain, substitute "gilt."

Especially in the longer poems Thompson's form is sloppy; he indulges in empty trickery with unconscionable aplomb, and writes lines which, short or long, jerk along to nowhere while his sleepwalker goes "from one bed to another in search of himself." The endings of the poems—their proof—are forced, unarrived-at, and to all poetic purpose, dishonest. Failing to communicate through sexual imagery a general feeling, his poems become as impersonal as sex. At the very least, one thinks, he could, in the words of Shakespeare's Duke in "Measure for Measure," "let the devil/ Be sometime honor'd for his burning throne." But eventually, he must, in order to find out where he is, get out of bed.

H. P. LAZARUS

Labor and Politics

HISTORY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

By Philip S. Foner. International Publishers. \$4.50.

MR. FONER has covered the history of the labor movement from the colonial period to the 1880's. It is a competent work, although the reader schooled in labor history will not find many new facts. The material and its division are generally similar to earlier

works in the field, except that Dr. Foner has included some information on slave rebellions.

The author's purpose is to interpret American labor history and to demonstrate that the thesis evolved by the Wisconsin School—Professor John R. Commons and his students—is erroneous. This thesis is that the American worker is not inclined to be class conscious, that he is interested in pursuing limited objectives, such as improvements in wages and working conditions, and that he avoids independent political action and is, instead, inclined to follow a policy of pressure politics. Contemporary events, the author argues, have "completely exploded this analysis of the history of the American labor movement." But have they?

The Wisconsin School has never argued that common action of labor, skilled and unskilled, was not possible. Too many examples of such action can be found in the four volumes of Commons's *History* to demonstrate that such a charge is unwarranted. Nor has it argued that labor is not or has not been active politically. Moreover, the conclusions reached by the Wisconsin School are presented not as eternal dogmas but as generalizations based upon the observation of certain tendencies. Nowhere in the Commons *History* is the assumption made that the future must inevitably resemble the past. Yet those who advocate a new course must demonstrate its advisability by a preponderance of evidence.

It is incorrect to maintain that Gompers opposed political action, or that such was the view of the Wisconsin School. Being essentially a labor leader and not an armchair philosopher, Gompers could, if conditions made it necessary, change his mind. It was under his leadership that the modern trade unions embarked upon their first large-scale political activity, and the contemporary labor movement, despite its three-fold increase in membership, still follows the pressure policies of Gompers. Take away the trimmings, and it becomes clear that both the Citizens' and the C. I. O. Political Action Committees were the Gompers Labor Representation Committee of 1906 on an expanded scale. The demise of the Citizens' Political Action Committee and the official drawing away of the

C. I. O. leadership from its successor show that an organization even mildly tainted with class-struggle radicalism is regarded as a liability by responsible labor leaders.

Certainly, the labor movement has increased its political activity, and is likely to increase it still further in the future. However, this has occurred because of the growing importance of government in collective bargaining, the establishment of programs of social security, and the belief that government should, by its fiscal and tax policies, encourage full employment. To American labor, political action is a means of getting increased job and social security and not of replacing the social system.

Dr. Foner's attempt at Marxian interpretation is more ambitious than successful. The facts of American labor history are not so easily fitted into a Procrustean bed of Marxist dogma.

PHILIP TAFT

Fiction in Review

THE only thing that makes Anna Kavan's "The House of Sleep" (Doubleday, \$2.50) worth writing about—nothing makes it worth reading—is the point of view it shares with a considerable section of our literary culture, the most "advanced" section, that madness is a normal or even a rather better-than-normal way of life. Although Miss Kavan's book is called a novel, it has no single characteristic of fiction—no narrative, no characters, no insight into or enlargement of our common reality. In fact, it deliberately avoids reality except in so far as it uses words which, however arbitrarily arranged, yet manage to evoke fleeting glimpses of a momentarily recognizable universe. A kaleidoscope of the subjective states of an increasingly disordered mind, recorded half as if from within the sick mind itself and half as if through the eye of an outsider much too closely identified with her subject, "The House of Sleep" seems to me to have been published only by virtue of our utter confusion as to what life and literature are all about. I haven't the slightest idea what it means to be told of such a pretentious piece of non-communication that it is a "penetrating insight into the subconscious world of

dreams and shadows." To me, insight necessarily proceeds from some kind of organized vision of reality. And the subconscious world of dreams and shadows is interesting only if it adds to our information about the world of consciousness, which Miss Kavan's book does not.

But it is clear that Miss Kavan has a principled disagreement with this po-

sition. She explains her own stand in an introduction sufficiently brief to be quoted entire:

The creative impulse is the result of tension; without tension life would not exist. If human life be accepted as the result of tension between the two polarities of night and day, the negative pole night, must have at least equal importance with the positive day.



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At night, under the negative influence, subjected to cosmic radiations of a different kind, human affairs are apt to come to a crisis; at night most human beings die and are born.

"The House of Sleep" describes in the night-time language certain critical stages in the development of one individual human being. No interpretation is needed of this dream tongue we all, as a matter of course, have spoken in sleep and childhood; but for the sake of absolute clearness a short paragraph at the head of each section indicates the corresponding day situation.

Every sentence of this statement invites examination. It is the second sentence, however, that reveals the serious misapprehension under which Miss Kavan has conceived her book. For believing that human life is a tension between the two polarities of reason and non-reason and that non-rationality, instead of being an element in the human composition that normally is and should be under the dominion of reason, asserts an "at least equal" authority with reason, Miss Kavan sets herself firmly against our common social view. She distinctly refuses the usual attitude whereby the whole test of health lies in this delicate matter of degree, the attitude which says that when a person's non-reason approaches even a 50 per cent dominion over his reason it means that the person is, sick and of only questionable use to society.

As to the sentences that follow this one, they too make rather singular assumptions. When Miss Kavan writes, "at night, under the negative influence," one is moved to ask her why negative; what makes night negative?

And when she continues, "... subjected to cosmic radiations of a different kind," one wants to know what is meant by a cosmic radiation of *any* kind. In support of Miss Kavan's affirmation that "at night most human beings die and are born," one asks for statistics; and in support of Miss Kavan's assertion that her text is written in the "dream tongue we all, as a matter of course, have spoken in sleep and childhood" one inquires whom Miss Kavan means by "we all." Certainly, even as a matter very much *out* of course, this reviewer was never capable of an infant- or sleep-speech of such fineness as the following: "the blessed genii who walk about in the light gazing with blissful eyes of still, eternal clearness The perennially clear eye of the Heaven-Born opens to a stare of shockingly bright moonlight. The eye is located at presumptive Godheight so that the terrestrial globe is seen as if from an airplane cruising over it at about three thousand feet." And I pick my passage at random; there are others of an even more exacerbated delicacy.

But, as I say, none of this would be worth stopping over were Miss Kavan's book only an isolated instance of its kind, unrelated to the culture of our time. Actually, the author of "The House of Sleep" not only has a distinguished reputation both in her own England and in this country but also speaks for an attitude that is finding a frighteningly wide adherence among our literary advance guard. Almost in the degree that our popular writing has moved more and more into the power realm and tried to mold itself

into an instrument to control a world of the most immediate realities, our art literature has moved more and more into the realm of shadow and dreams and tried to substitute for the grimness of reality the poetry of non-rationality. The very people who are in the advance guard of complaint that ours is a schizophrenic society have themselves, it seems, little better than schizophrenia to offer as a cure. DIANA TRILLING

In Brief

DR. CAMPBELL'S DIARY OF A VISIT TO ENGLAND IN 1775.

Newly Edited from the MS by James L. Clifford. With an Introduction by S. C. Roberts. The Macmillan Company. \$2.75.

THOMAS CAMPBELL was an Irish clergyman moved in his own small way by the same kind of curiosity which led Boswell and Walpole to record their impressions of men and manners. Most of his short diary is concerned with what he saw and heard on one visit to London, and the history of the manuscript is almost as strange as the document itself. Completely unknown for some three-quarters of a century after it was written, it was printed, in part, in Australia in 1854, and the book, because so little was known about it, came to be regarded by some students as a hoax. A few years ago, however, the relentless persistence of Professor Clifford succeeded in locating the manuscript in the Mitchell Library of Sydney, where it had lain uncatalogued for years. He has now printed it in full with an ac-

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count of the author and elaborate notes. The fact that Campbell was especially interested in Samuel Johnson will guarantee him readers, and he records several well-known sayings in unfamiliar form. In at least two famous instances Campbell either heard or at least remembered sayings as couched in language a good deal more Rabelaisian than any attributed by Boswell to "the great moralist," and one pronouncement concerning the principal pleasures of life may curl some hair. Professor Clifford's editing is a model of thoroughness which leaves very few of the many obscure references unexplained.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE last of the books on my desk for review is Kolodin's new edition of his "Guide to Recorded Music" (Doubleday, \$3.50), which I would feel no need of concerning myself with (any more than with the later editions of Hall's "Record Book") if even one of the reviews of the first edition that I saw in 1941 had put on record an adequate description of what I read in the book.

Kolodin's revisions include elimination of inconsequential errors of the kind that are unavoidable in such a compilation (one of the readers whom he thanks for pointing them out might tell him that the Bach Toccata in D recorded by Pessl is the same work as the Toccata and Fugue in D recorded by Landowska). But also eliminated is an erroneous statement of a different and not inconsequential kind. Concerning the Beecham recording of Mozart's Symphony K. 201 Kolodin wrote in 1941: "It has been my reaction, after hearing Beecham's more recent performances of this work, that the interpretation he recorded was a transitional one, tending toward the conception he holds today." I knew of no Beecham performances of K. 201 in this country after the recording; an accidental meeting with Beecham enabled me to ascertain that there had been none; and other inquiries established the fact that neither Beecham nor Columbia had received from England a sample pressing of a new recording that Kolodin might have heard. The statement appeared, then, to be an example of the interesting points

a writer can make about imagined material.

Another example was the statement that followed it, in 1941, about Koussevitzky's recording of K. 201—that "Koussevitzky has incorporated many of the virtuous elements of [Beecham's] conception into his performance." This also is not in the new edition; but still present is the similar statement that Beecham's more recent recorded performance of Mozart's K. 338 "is the *authentic* conception of the work, not, as Koussevitzky's seems to me, a duplicate of the previous Beecham recording." It makes interesting reading; but as I observed once, try to imagine Koussevitzky listening to another conductor's performance, if at all, with any thought other than to show how *he* did it; better still, try listening to the Koussevitzky and the old Beecham recorded performances of K. 338. Listen merely to the two statements of the opening phrase of the *Andante* movement—to the sharply clipped staccatos of Koussevitzky, then to the same notes held longer and released without sharp clipping by Beecham (and note that I am talking about such objectively verifiable physical facts, not about subjective evaluations of these facts): they constitute one of the many dissimilarities in the actual styles of the two performances that represent the differences in the two conductors and their feeling about the music—Koussevitzky's style brisk, chirpy; Beecham's slower-moving, spaciouly elaborating. And it is such dissimilarities that you will hear, not the similarities of a copy and its original.

Now my reason for discussing these details is that they are especially clear-cut and striking examples of Kolodin's method throughout the book. And I should add that the method is a normal one of Kolodin's writing: his program-notes for the works performed by the New Friends of Music, for example, have been a profusion of points about them which I have had to conclude were

mostly churned up in his own mind, since I couldn't discover the things they referred to in the works.

That sort of thing doesn't make for reliable guidance; and Kolodin is an astonishingly unreliable guide even in the simple matter of whether the recorded sound of a performance is natural and agreeable or unpleasantly false or distorted. A reader who in 1941 acquired the Stokowski performance of Stravinsky's "Firebird" that Kolodin described as "carefully defined" by the Columbia recording, or the Stokowski performance of Dvorak's "New World" Symphony that Kolodin described as "splendidly reproduced" by Columbia, would have found himself with two of the horrors of orchestral recording that Columbia perpetrated in those years; and on the other hand if fear of the "weaknesses" Kolodin found in the recording kept this reader from acquiring the Budapest Quartet performance of Mozart's K.499, it would have deprived him of a beautiful H.M.V. recording of the performance. True, Kolodin had been using an Astatic pickup and 12-inch speaker which cut down the range of the reproduction and in this way reduced the defects of the recordings; but his book was going to be read by some people with wide-range reproducing equipment. And now he has a wide-range Brush pickup (but the same limited 12-inch speaker); but it doesn't seem to have made him any more reliable a guide. A reader will discover the realities of "Columbia's skillful reproduction of chamber music" only after he has acquired the defective recordings of the Budapest Quartet that Kolodin praises; that is how he will find out also about the noisy confusion caused by excessive hall-reverberation in the recent Victor recordings of Berlioz's "Harold in Italy," Ravel's "Daphnis and Chloë," and Prokofiev's "Scythian Suite," about which Kolodin's enthusiasm is unqualified; and the learning process won't stop there.

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Letters to the Editor

Spanish Canvas

[The following letter, recently sent to The Nation by its recipient, was written two months ago by a Yale student traveling in Spain. For the light it sheds on Franco's dominion, we print it now, despite the delay from the time of writing.]

Dear —: Yesterday at five o'clock in the afternoon my Harvard friend and I crossed the border into France after a trip of exactly two weeks in Spain—one week in Pamplona and a week in Madrid. To write all or even half of my impressions would be impossible. So much can happen in two weeks, averaging twenty hours a day of more or less complete consciousness.

Since we arrived in San Sebastian on the evening of the referendum, perhaps that story should be dealt with first. Of the cities we visited in Spain, San Sebastian was the most thoroughly propagandized. Our dinner at the small hotel near the station was accompanied by alternate male and female voices delivering their message from the national radio network. It was all very interesting for a newcomer to a government-police-controlled state. With our *caldos* we learned of the order prevailing in Spain in the midst of a chaotic world; with *bacalao*, a recounting of the atrocities committed by the foreign-dominated republic; with *chulets*, a panegyric on the success of the regime in aid of farmers, workers, Catholics, teachers, mothers, et cetera; with dessert, a warning that a vote "Si" was a vote for Spain, a vote "No" a vote for foreign intervention, killing of children, destruction of homes and churches, and all the rest. By the time we had finished our coffee the entire process had started again.

By 11 p. m. we were exploring the handsome streets of San Sebastian. Each smooth blank spot of wall between the steel-shuttered stone fronts was "decorated" with small (2' x 4'), thin, well-glued announcements. There were some dozen different types. Each was headed by a designating word—Catholic, Student, Worker, Spaniard, Soldier, Woman, et cetera—and each explained the benefit of a "Si" vote for the people falling under the various categories. There were no posters ask-

ing for a negative vote. This all was very interesting at first sight.

Midnight found us trying to pay for a cognac in a cafe of the section of the city where the streets are narrow and without sidewalks. We had been talking about life in America with the family at the next table while at other tables people were playing cards, drinking milk, beer, coffee, wine, or sipping cognac. With some shouts and the roar of a truck motor several bundles of colored circulars were pitched from a shovel into the open doorway. No one rose to pick one up. The card game continued without interruption while few even looked toward the door. There were, however, several smiles as S— walked to the front of the cafe to get a sampling of the multicolored papers.

Later when we went out into the streets we found them littered with the same colored papers. At this time occurred the only unpleasant incident. While we were watching a Falange worker pasting a poster on the wall, one of the men from the truck approached us and asked, "Do you come here to fight us?" Before I could answer one of his more sober friends told him to keep quiet and leave the foreigners alone. The people walking in the streets were paying no attention to the truck with its men, shovels, and colored papers. The first night in Spain was a realistic portent of what was to follow in the next two weeks.

I must omit the detail and write a few general impressions before I close. I talked to people of all classes in Spain. We rode third class to Madrid and first class back. We had a beer at Cuatro Caminos and a cognac at the "Palace." I should guess that one person in eight with whom I talked was in favor of the regime of Franco. That is not to say that the other seven were in favor of a civil war to put him out. Everyone seems very much afraid that something will happen to deprive his family of food. The failure to vote in the referendum brought a fine of a week's salary. A brush with the police would be even more serious for a man without savings.

Franco is right. He has brought order to Spain—by forbidding all opposition. Never have I seen so many uniformed police. There are nearly always two or three in sight. The largest group

of police I happened to see at one time was in the line for bullfight tickets to see Manolete on July 15. Since early in the morning people had been lined up the length of several blocks; some had been there all night. At 10 a. m. when the ticket window opened, about seventy-five uniformed police formed their own line in front. As the police were served, others entered. The resale price of tickets for that fight was triple the official price. Some of the public began to complain and surge forward, but when the clubs came out of the holsters they fell back into their previous orderly line and waited for what was left of the public ticket sale.

The Spanish newspapers make interesting reading—till you get used to them. They specialize in describing the chaos of strikes and starvation in democratic Europe. The July 4 news from the United States explained the barbaric American way of celebrating its independence with 300 deaths. Only Argentina receives a good press, but among the people jokes about the recent visit of Señora Perón are still popular.

There is so much more to tell if there were time: the way the people smile and put their index finger to their right eye in a knowing way when you mention the official referendum returns, the equally knowing smiles as they read their newspapers, the poorly stocked bookstore windows, the shop windows filled to overflowing, the restaurant in Madrid where a dinner costs the week's wage of a factory worker. There was the Falangist in Pamplona who warned me that the two evils of democracy were free elections and free press (but I respected him more than the professor in Madrid who assured me that both press and elections were free in Spain). There was the entrance of Franco into the President's box at the bullring in Madrid with the wholly unsuccessful attempt of a few to start the chant "Franco, Franco, Franco," and the huge headlines in the Madrid newspapers the next day acclaiming the applause and shouts of "Franco" at the bullfights of the day before! I could go on and on, but there is not time.

We left Spain as we entered, stopping at the same hotel in San Sebastian. During dinner the same radio was blaring the same propaganda. This was the

eleventh anniversary (July 18) of the "Crusade of Franco and Spain against the foreign intervention."

The radio harangue was no longer interesting as it had been the first day. It was a pleasure to hear the beginning of a period of music as the speech ended with the usual "Viva Franco, Arriba España."

As I reread my letter I am afraid you will get the impression that Spain was not pleasant for an American visitor. On the contrary, Spain is the most interesting country with the most friendly people I have ever seen. Everywhere we were treated like old friends in spite of the official attitude that most foreigners are enemies of Spain.

J. EAGLETON

Paris, July 20

The Ingersoll Association

Dear Sirs: The Robert G. Ingersoll Memorial Association was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York on February 19, 1947.

The purpose of the association is to make of the birthplace of Robert G. Ingersoll, on Seneca Lake, at Dresden, Yates County, New York, a museum to be open to the public during the summer months of each year, and, in due course, to build an additional structure to house original Ingersoll manuscripts, photographs, historical documents, letters, and other memorabilia, which would be placed on permanent exhibition.

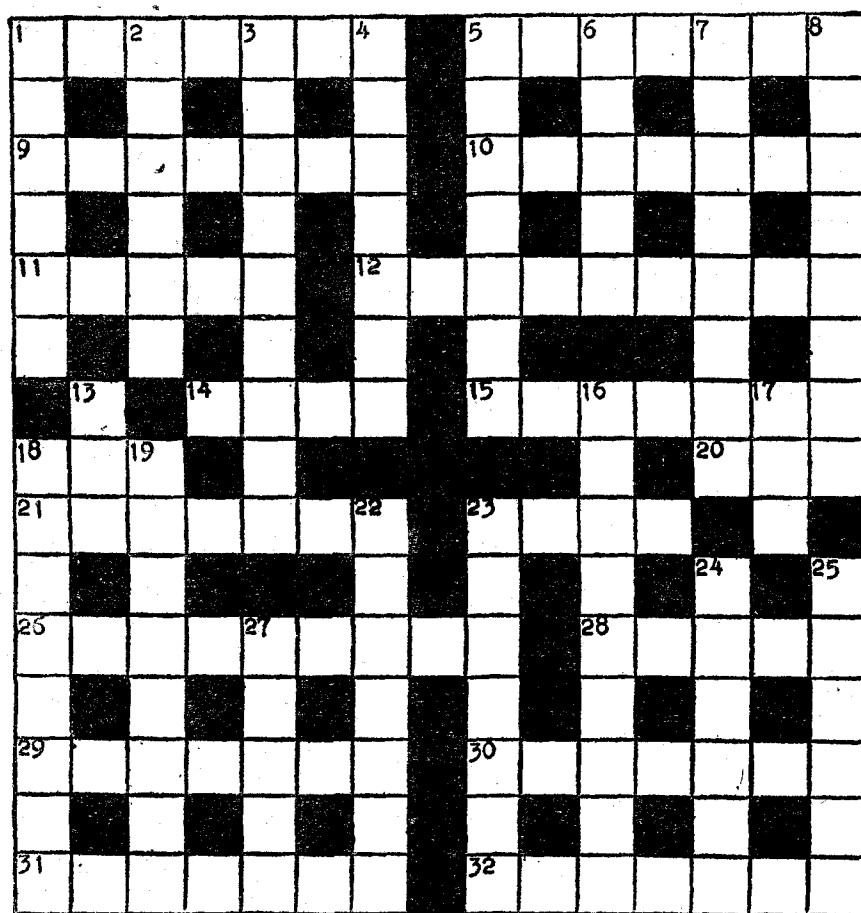
The house was originally opened as a museum on August 11, 1921, but has been closed during the war period. The association plans to reopen the house on August 11, 1948, which will mark the 115th anniversary of Ingersoll's birth.

The object of the current membership campaign is to raise sufficient funds to complete the work of restoration of the house in time for that opening. Contributions to the association are deductible from the income tax.

In this current era, when totalitarian enslavement by church and state threatens from every side, the association hopes that this little birthplace will stand as a beacon of intellectual light, liberation, and inspiration to all seeking freedom for the person, the mind, and the spirit.

The Robert G. Ingersoll Memorial Association, Inc., cordially invites the readers of *The Nation* to membership in the association, and to active participation in its work. For further de-

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 229 By MR. Y.



[SPECIAL NOTICE! This is the third of six puzzles constructed by Mr. Y in competition with Mr. X. At the end of the competition, *The Nation's* regular crossword puzzle man will be selected on the basis of letters sent in by puzzle-solving readers.]

ACROSS

- 1 Where crustacea lie? (7)
- 5 Pert manner? (7)
- 9 Loaded thus? Refrain from it! (7)
- 10 Even a liar can be brainy. (7)
- 11 To lift from the lateral. (5)
- 12 Well-read passage by Roberts. (9)
- 14 Come back to Erin to see the lake. (4)
- 15 This caretaker has one drawback in the end. (7)
- 18 We go out from the middle in either direction. (3)
- 20 Comparatively easy. (3)
- 21 Contrived to have the clamps taken off? (7)
- 23 I repeat, it's a bird! (4)
- 26 It sounds anti-nose-counting, but actually is in agreement. (9)
- 28 Good at 8 down. (5)
- 29 Did we once pay this, but tire of it quickly? (7)
- 30 Drink wine for a bracer? (7)
- 31 Is it against the law to do this to the Commander-in-Chief more than once? (7)
- 32 Found in coils, wherever rocks are. (7)

- 5 Wires which don't bear direct current? (7)
- 6 Loud material. (5)
- 7 Does the porter wear different-colored head-gear at the beach? (8)
- 8 Does it go in and come out on Christmas day? (8)
- 13 Nothing before us but to be in debt! (3)
- 16 Pepsicola, well-shaken. (9)
- 17 To leave in tears. (3)
- 18 Actor due a leading role. (8)
- 19 Does it flow gently after dark? (8)
- 22 Upbraided after dinner. (7)
- 23 Its sins imply one dwells on a point. (7)
- 24 Like Leander's girl-friend? (6)
- 25 One shall never be a slave, so they sing. (6)
- 27 Don't let the right answer do this to you! (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 223

ACROSS:—1 CHAMPION; 5 SCRAPE; 10 MOTOR; 11 INTRUSIVE; 12 RAMPART; 13 BALANCE; 14 STONED; 15 EARNEST; 18 CONTEND; 21 ASTUTE; 24 EXAMPLE; 26 RELIANT; 27 UNIFORMED; 28 NIGHT; 29 ENTREE; 30 PERSISTS.

DOWN:—1 CAMERA; 2 AUTOMATON; 3 PERTAIN; 4 OMITTED; 6 CRULLER; 7 ALIEN; 8 ELEMENTS; 9 STABLE; 16 ESTRANGES; 17 SCHEDULE; 19 EXPLODE; 20 DREAMS; 21 ABRIDGE; 22 TALENTS; 23 STATES; 25 ARIOT.

DOWN

- 1 Struck with the trimming on my trousers? (6)
- 2 Get aboard to go here. (6)
- 3 Stews about 14's return. (9)
- 4 Angered, in a way. (7)

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New York, September 6

A Disservice to Readers?

Dear Sirs: I was profoundly disappointed in the review of Howard Ambruster's "Treason's Peace," by C. A. Welsh which appeared in *The Nation* of June 21 because it seemed to me that the review completely hid the significance of the book. More recently I read Mr. Ambruster's challenge to Mr. Welsh to document his criticism. Mr. Welsh's answer was as inadequate as his review.

Considering the importance of Mr. Ambruster's book in view of the present struggle to revive German industry, I would have expected *The Nation's* reviewer to treat "Treason's Peace" with at least as much understanding as was shown, for example, by Thomas L. Stokes in his column in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

To be frank, I think it is a disservice to readers of *The Nation* not to let them know that this book makes available a mine of factual material on what is certainly one of the most important issues of the day.

In my course in current world history at the University of Alabama I require my students to read Mr. Ambruster's book; I also require them to read *The Nation*. What am I to say to them when they bring me Welsh's review?

Men like Ambruster need every shred of liberal support. They should not be brushed off in this fashion. I am shocked.

ALFRED B. THOMAS

Tuscaloosa, Ala., August 22

Viet Nam Celebration

Dear Sirs: September 2 marked the second anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in Indo-China. There was no celebration of this event in the Orient this year—only a rededication to the cause of freedom and the fight against French imperialism.

Although almost no news leaks through the tight French censorship, we do know that the guerrilla forces of Viet Nam are continuing the fight against oppression throughout the length and breadth of their country. Eight months after the French began their ruthless campaign to end opposition, only the seaports and some inland cities are tenuously held by them. . . .

French propaganda has aimed at con-

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vincing the American people—progressives included—that Viet Nam is Communist-dominated. This assertion is made in spite of the fact that the Communists, the largest party in France, have stood by while the war continued in Indo-China. The fact is that the government of the republic is a coalition of all elements: liberals, Socialists, Catholics, Buddhists, Communists, and former Mandarin royalty. . . .

To express the solidarity of American progressives with the cause of Viet Nam—with the cause of freedom—a meeting will be held Tuesday, September 23, at the Hotel McAlpin in New York City. Pearl Buck, Harold Isaacs, Norman Thomas, Richard J. Walsh, and others will speak. A special message from President Ho Chi Minh is being smuggled out of Viet Nam to the meeting.

Readers of *The Nation* are invited to attend the gathering as an expression of faith in the Viet Nam cause—and as proof that the ideals of liberty and democracy are not dead in the West.

ROBERT DELSON

SOL W. SANDERS

Committee for the Celebration
of Viet Nam Independence

New York, September 8

Wrongly Blamed

Dear Sirs: Your report on the case of the Brinks (August 23) contains an uncomely slur on the welfare officers of Los Angeles County. Let me remind you that the case was entirely the work of the County Board of Supervisors, politicians all, whose experience in such cases was negligible. The ground for their action was a county ordinance limiting total relief checks for families to \$125 monthly; this inspiration is also attributable to the supervisors' zeal for economy in relief.

A couple of minor inaccuracies: legal residence in California requires three years of "independent" residence; that is, independent of relief checks. The Brinks were therefore not legal residents. For Oklahoma officials their lack of residence in Oklahoma was sufficient reason to disclaim responsibility. Again, Ma Brink had not "held out" against returning to Oklahoma but rather inadvisedly threatened to go there in retaliation for the relief cut.

Yours is the first report I have seen that the Brinks are on their way back, although the prediction has been freely ventured ever since they left.

L. G. WAYNE

San Gabriel, Cal., September 5